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## WILLIAM SHAKESPEARE

"This figure, that thou here seest put, It was for gentle Shakespeare cut ; Wherein the Graver had a strife With Nature to outdo the life; O, could he but have drawn his wit As well in brass, as he hath hit His face; the Print would then surpass All that was ever writ in brass. But since he cannot, Reader, look Not at his picture, but his book."

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## WESTMINSTER EDITION DE LUXE

This Edition of the complete works of William Shakespeare, printed for Subscribers only, is limited to One Thousand numbered sets of which this is
№. $59 \%$

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Annals of the
Life of Shakespeare.


Shakespeare's Birthplace, 1769. (From the Gentleman's Magazine.)
1564. In the Parish Register preserved in the Church of the Holy Trinity, Straford-on-Avon, Warwickshire, is enshrined the following brief record of Shakespeare's nativity-the entry of his baptism, which, it may be assumed, took place during the first week of the child's life:-
1564. April 26. Gulielmus filius Johannes Shakspere.

A fairly old tradition fixes April 22 or 23 as the poet's birthday; the latter date, the day of St. George, Eng-

land's patron saint, is fittingly associated with the birth of England's national poet.

The researches of generations of students have put us in possession of many minute facts connected with Shakespeare's family history, with the environments of his carly life, and with the various elements that may have contributed to the fostering of his mighty intellect.

The "Johannes Shakespeare," William Shakespeare's father, mentioned in the entry of baptism, was a person of importance in the borough at the time of the birth of his first son and third child. The son of Richard Shakespeare, a farmer of Snitterfield, a village about three miles distant, he appears to have settled at Stratford about 1551, and to have traded in all sorts of agricultural produce and the like. The municipal books attest his growing prosperity, though the earliest notice, in April I552, refers to a fine paid by him for having a dirt-heap before his house in Henley Street. Successively "ale-taster," town councillor, one of the four constables of the courtlect, affeeror (i.e. an assessor of fines for offences not expressly penalised by statute), chamberlain, he attained to the rank of alderman in 1565 , head-bailiff in 1568 , and chief alderman in 1571.

John Shakespeare's prosperity seems to date from the time of his marriage, in 1557 , with Mary, youngest daughter of Robert Arden, a wealthy farmer of Wilmcote, Aston Cantlowe, near Stratford, probably distantly connected with the ancient and distinguished Arden family of Warwickshire. Robert Arden possessed property at Snitterfield, and among his tenants there was Richard Shakespeare, John's father. Mary Arden was the youngest of seven daughters; her father, dying in I556, left her the chief property at Wilmcote, called Ashbies, extending to fifty-four acres, together with a sum of money; sle had also an interest in some property at Snitterfield; with her sister Alice she was appointed executrix of her father's will.


BIRTHPLACE OF SHAKESPEARE.

On September 15, I 558, their first child, Joan, was baptised in the church of Holy Trinity; the second, Margaret, on December 2, I562; both children died in infancy.

Two or three months after the birth of their third child, William, a terrible plague ravaged Stratford.

The birth-place of the poet was in one of two adjoining houses in Henley Strect, possibly in the room now shown to reverent pilgrims. Of the two houses upon the


The village of Wilmecote or Wincot in 1852.
north side of the street, the one on the east was purchased by John Shakespeare in 5556 , but that on the west (though there is nothing connecting it with him before 1575) has been known "from time immemorial" as "Shakespeare's Birthplace," perhaps from the circumstance of its being occupied until 1806 by descendants of the poet.

1568=9. As bailiff, John Shakespeare entertained actors at Stratford, the Queen's and Earl of Worcester's companies-evidently for the first time in the history of the town.
1571. At the age of seven, according to the custom of the time, William Shakespeare's school-life probably began: he no doubt entered the Free Grammar School at Stratford, known as "the King's New School." The teaching at the school during Shakespeare's schoolcourse was under efficient control; Walter Roche, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, and rector of Clifford, was appointed master in I 570 , and Thomas Hunt, curate (and subsequently vicar) of the neighbouring village of Luddington, held the office in 1577 .


Court yard of the Grammar School, Stratford.
(From an engraving by Fairholt.)
1575. Queen Elizabeth visited the Earl of Leicester at Kenilworth. William may have witnessed the Kenilworth festivities; in the next year two accounts were published (cp. Preface to Midsummer Night's Dream).

1577=8. About this time William was removed from school, owing to his father's financial difficulties. Fourteen was the usual age for boys to leave school and commence apprenticeship, if they were not preparing for a scholarly career.

The Stratford records give us the clearest evidence that John Shakespeare's prosperity had come to an end: his attendance at the council meetings became more and more irregular, and he was unable to pay, in 1578 , an assessment of fourpence weekly for the relief of the poor levied on the aldermen of the borough, and in 1579 a levy for the purchase of weapons. In the former year he was forced to mortgage " the land in Wilmcote called Ashbies" for $£_{40}$ to Edmund Lambert, his brother-in-law, to revert if repayment were made before Michaelmas 1580: in the latter year, their interest in the Snitterfield property was sold for $£_{4} 0$ to Robert Webbe (Alexander Webbe was the husband of Agnes Arden, Shakespeare's aunt). Towards Michaelmas 1580 John Shakespeare sought to redeem the Wilmcote estate from Edmund Lambert, but his proposal was rejected on the plea that there were other unsecured debts.

On September 6, i586, John Shakespeare was deprived of his position on the council, on the ground that he "doth not come to the halls when warned, nor hath not done of long time." About this time he lost an action brought against him by one John Brown, and it is reported that "predictus Johannes Shackspere nitil habet unde distringi potest," i.e. "the aforesaid John Shakspeare has no goods on which distraint can be levied."

There were in all eight children born to John Shake-speare:-Two daughters who died in infancy; William; Gilbert, baptised October 13, 1566 (living at Stratford in 1609) ; Joan, baptised April I5, I569, married William Hart of Stratford (died in 1646): Anne, baptised September 28, I571 (died in 1579); Richard, baptised March II, 1574 (died at Stratford in 1613 ) ; Edmund, baptised May 3, I58o (became an actor, and died in London in December 1607).

Nothing is definitely known concerning William's occupation on his withdrawal from school. The oldest local tradition seems to point to his being apprenticed to " a

## ANNALS OF THE

butcher,"-perhaps to his own father, who is variously described as "a dealer in wool," "a glover," " a husbandman," "a butcher," and the like.
1582. In November of this year William Shakespeare married Anne Hathaway, who it would seem was the daughter (otherwise called Agnes) of Richard Hathaway, husbandman of the little village to the west of Stratford called Shottery; he had died during the year, his will, dated September I, 158I, being proved on July 9 , i.e. some four months before the marriage.

Anne Hathaway was twenty-seven years old, and William Shakespeare nincteen, when they became man and wife. The marriage did not take place at Stratford, but

possibly at Luddington (three miles from Stratford and one from Shottery), or at Temple Grafton (about four miles from Stratford),-the registers of the old churches have disappeared. It is curious to note that in the Episcopal registers at Worcester there is a record of a license for a marriage between " Willielmum Shaxpere and An-

nam Whateley de Temple Grafton" dated 27 th of November, 1582, where "Whateley" may be an error for, "Hathwey," due to some exceptional accident or initended disguise ; possibly (but less likely) the entry refers to some other "William Shakespeare." There is, however, preserved in the Bishop's Registry at Worcester, a bond dated November 28, 1582, "against impediments," in anticipation of the marriage of Shakespeare and Anne Hathaway-" William Shagspere one thone parte, and Anne Hathwey of Stratford in the dioces of Worcester, maiden "; by this deed Fulke Sandells and John Richardson, husbandmen of Stratford (but more specifically farmers of Shottery, the former being "supervisor" of Richard Hathaway's will) bound themselves in a surety of $\mathrm{f}_{40}$ to "defend and save harmless the right reverend Father in God, John Lord Bishop of Worcester " against any complaint that might ensue from allowing the marriage between William and Anne with only once asking of the banns of matrimony. There is no reference to the bridegroom's parents; and all considerations seem to point to the conclusion that the marriage was hastened on by the friends of the bride.
1583. May 26; under this date we find the baptism of Susanna, daughter of William Shakespeare; on February 2nd, 1585, were baptised his twin children, Hamnet and Judith, named after his Stratford friends Hamnet and Judith Sadler.
1587. On April 23 rd of this year was buried Edmund Lambert, the mortgagee of Ashbies; in September a formal proposal was made that his son and heir, John, should, on cancelling the mortgage and paying $f_{40}$, receive from the Shakespeares an absolute title to the estate. "'Johannes Shackespere and Maria uxor ejus, simulcum Willielmo Shackespere filio suo," were parties to this proposed arrangement, which, however, was not carried out, as we learn from a Bill of Complaint brought
by the poet's father against John Lambert in the Court of Dueen's Bench, 1589 . There is no evidence that William was at Stratford at the time of the negotiations. In this same year, 1587, no less than five companies of actors visited Stratford-on-Avon, including the Queen's Players and those of Lord Essex, Leicester, and Stafford. Between the years 1576 and 1587 , with the exception of the year 1578 , the town was yearly visited by companies of players.

It may be inferred that these visits of the actors to Stratford stimulated Shakespeare's latent genius for the drama, and so caused him, under stress of circumstances, to seek his fortunes with the London players. According to a well-authenticated tradition, borne out by allusions in his own writings, the direct cause of his leaving Stratford was the well-known poaching incident-the deer-stealing from the park of Sir Thomas Lucy at Charlecote, about four miles from Stratford. "For this" (according to Rowe's account in 1709) "he was prosecuted by that gentleman, as he thought, somewhat too severely; and in order to revenge that ill-usage be made a ballad upon him, and though this, probably the first essay of his poetry, be lost, yet it is said to have been so very bitter that it redoubled the prosecution arainst him to that degree that he was obliged to leave his business and family in Warvickshire and shelter himself in London." It is just possible that the lampoon on Lucy may be more or less preserved in the following rathen nor verses, recorded by Oldys, on the authority of a very aged gentleman living in the neighbourhood of Stratford, where he died in 1703 :-

> "A parliament momber, a justice of peace, At home a poor scare-crow, at London an asse: If lousy is Lucy, as some volk miscall it, Then Lucy is lousy, whatever befall it:
> He thinks himself great, Yet an ass in his state

## LIFE OF SHAKESPEARE

We allow by his ears but with asses to mate. If Lucy is lousy, as some volk miscall it, Sing lousy Lucy, whatever befall it."

It is noteworthy that Sir Thomas Lucy was a bitter persecutor of those who secretly favoured the old Faith, and acted as Chief Commissioner for the County of Warwick, " touching all such persons as either have been presented, or have been otherwise found out to be Jesuits, seminary priests, fugitives, or recusants . . . or vehemently suspected of such." In the second return, dated 1592, John Shakespeare's name is included among nine who "it is said come not to church for fear of proc-


A bird'seye view of Charlecote in 1722.
ess of debt," but he was possibly under suspicion for some worse fault.

We have no separate information concerning Shakespeare between I 587 and I 592 , and we cannot fix with absolute certainty the date of his leaving Stratford; but in all probability it may safely be assigned to $1585-7$. He may have been in London at the time of the national mourning for Sir Philip Sidney at the end of 1586 , and may even have seen the famous funeral procession. It
should, however, be noted that, so far as the stage was concerned, there was no employment in town for Shakespeare during 1586 , when the theatres were closed owing to the prevalence of the plague.

The traditional accounts of his first connection with the theatres are evidently fairly authentic:-In "Aubrey's Lives of Eminent Men " (c. 1680) it is stated that "this Wm. being inclined naturally to poetry and acting, came to London I guesse about I8, and was an actor at one of the play-houses and did act exceedingly well." The old parish clerk of Stratford narrated in 1693 , being about eighty years old at the time, that " this Shakespeare was formerly in this town apprentice to a butcher, but that he ran from his master to London, and there was received into the play-house as a serviture, and by this means had an opportunity to be what he afterwards proved." Rowe's account (I709) is even more likely:"He was received into the company then in being, at first, in a very mean rank; but his admirable wit, and the natural turn of it to the stage, soon distinguished him, if not as an extraordinary actor, yet as an excellent writer."

In I753 the compiler of the "Lives of the Poets" states that Shakespeare's " first expedient was to wait at the door of the play-house, and hold the horses of those that had no servants, that they might be ready again after the performance." Rowe does not mention this tradition, though he is said to have received it from Betterton, who heard it from D'Avenant. Dr. Johnson elaborated the story, adding, we know not on what authority, that " he became so conspicuous for his care and readiness that in a short time every man as he alighted called for Will Shakespeare, and scarcely any other waiter was trusted with a horse while Will Shakespeare could be had. This was the first dawn of better fortune. Shakespeare, finding more horses put into his hand than he could hold, hired boys to wait under his inspection, who, when Will Shakespeare was summoned, were immediately to present
themselves: 'I am Shakespeare's boy, sir.' In time Shakespeare found higher employment; but as long as the practice of riding to the play-house continued, the waiters that held the horses retained the appellation of Shakespeare's boys." According to another tradition, recorded by Malone ( 1780 ), " his first office in the theatre was that of prompter's attendant."

It is assumed that soon after his arrival in London Shakespeare became connected with one of the two London theatres, viz. "The Theatre," in Shoreditch, built by James Burbage, father of the great actor Richard Burbage, in 1576 ; or "The Curtain," in Moorfields-the second play-house, built about the same time (the name survives in Curtain Road, Shoreditch: both play-houses were built on sites outside the civic jurisdiction, the City Fathers having no sympathy with stage-plays. In all probability the former was the scene of Shakespeare's earliest activity, in whatever capacity it may have been. Shakespeare may have belonged, from the first, to Lord Leicester's Company, of which we know he soon became an important member, and with which, under various patrons, his dramatic career was to be associated. It is noteworthy that in 1587 the Earl of Leicester's men visited Stratford-on-Avon. In this same year, 1587 , when the Admiral's men re-opened after the plague Marlowe's Tamberlaine was among the plays produced by them.
1588. In September of this year the Earl of Leicester died, and his company of actors found a new patron in Ferdinando, Lord Strange, who became Earl of Derby on September 25, 1592.
1589. On August 23, Greene's novel "Menaphon" was entered on the Stationers' Registers, and was soon issued, with a preface by the satirist Tom Nash, containing a reference to "a sort of shifting companions that run through every art and thrive by none to leave the trade of Noverint (i.e. scrivener) whereto they were born,
and busy themselves with the endeavours of art that could scarcely latinize their neck-verse, if they should have need: yet English Seneca, read by candle light, yields many good sentences, Blood in a Beggar, and so forth; if you intreat him fair in a frostie morning, he will afford you whole Hamlets, I should say handfulls of tragical speeches, \&c." This is the best evidence we have for the existence of a lost play on " Hamlet" at this early date: its author was almost certainly Thomas Kyd (born 1558, died I594), famous as the author of "The Spanish Tragedy." In Menaphon Greene indulges in his sarcastic references to Marlowe, which are also found in his Perimcdcs the Blacksmith ( 1588 ). Peele, on the other hand, was held up, in Nash's Preface, as primus verborum artifex. It is clear that at this time Greene regarded Marlowe and Kyd as dangerous rivals; Shakespeare was not yet an object of fear. Greene was chief writer for the Queen's men, Marlowe and Kyd for Lord Pembroke's, Peele was joining Greene's company, leaving the Admiral's.
1591. In this year Florio, subsequently the translator of Montaigne's Essays, published Second Fruites-a book of Italian-English dialogues. A sonnet entitled Phaeton to his friend Florio may possibly have been written by Shakespeare; but there is no direct evidence.

In this year the Queen's players made their last appearance at Court; Lord Strange's men made the first of their many appearances at Court.
"The Troublesome Raigne of King John," the original of King John, was published this year; it was reissued in I6II as written by "W. Sh.," and in 1622 as by "W. Shakespeare."
1592. On February i9, Lord Strange's men opened the Rose Theatre on Bankside, erected by Philip Henslowe, theatrical speculator. It would appear that they had generally acted at the Cross Keys, an inn-yard
in Bishopsgate Street. They played at the Rose from February to June. At this time we find the great actor Edward Alleyn, Henslowe's son-in-law, at the head of Lord Strange's men, but he was really the Lord Admiral's man: there was evidently a short-lived combination of the two companies: but they soon dissolved partnership.

On March 3, 1592 , Henry VI. was acted at the Rose Theatre by Lord Strange's men: it was in all probability i Henry VI., and was soon after referred to by Nash in his Pierce Pcnniless (licensed August 8) :-" How would it have joyed brave Talbot (the terror of the French) to think that after he had lain two hundred years in his tomb, he should triumph again on the stage, and have his bones new embalmed with the tears of ten thousand spectators at least (at several times), who in the tragedian that represents his person imagine they behold him fresh bleeding " (cp. iv. 6, 7).

With a short break the theatres were closed on account of the plague until after Christmas I593. The company meanwhile travelled, and we have notices of their visits to Bristol and Shrewsbury during that year: similar notices of travel are extant for subsequent years.

In this same year, I592, on September 4, died Robert Greene; on the 20th of the month his Groatsworth of Wit was published, edited by Chettle. In this work there is an address to his "quondam acquaintance that spend their wits in making plays, R. G. wisheth a better exercise and wisdome to prevent his extremities." Marlowe, Nash, and Peele, are probably the scholar-playwrights warned by Greene no longer to trust the players. "Base-minded men all three of you, if by my misery ye be not warned: for unto none of you, like me, sought those burrs to cleave-those puppets, I mean, that speak from our mouth, those antics garnished in our colours. Is it not strange that I , to whom they have all been beholding: is it not like that you, to whom they have all been beholding, shall (were ye in that case that I am now) be both at
once of them forsaken? Yes, trust them not: for there is an upstart crow, beautified with our feathers, that with his Tiger's heart wrapt in a player's hide supposes he is as well able to bombast out a blank-verse as the best of you: and being an absolute Johannes fac-totum, is in his own conceit the only shake-scene in a country. O that I might entreat your rare wits to be employed in more profitable courses: and let these apes imitate your past excellence, and never more acquaint them with your admired inventions. . . . Yet, whilst you may, seek you better masters! for it is a pity men of such rare wits should be subject to such rude grooms."

The original of the travestied line is to be found in 3 Henry VI., "O tiger's heart wrapt in a woman's hide" (cp. Preface), and there can be no doubt that here we have the first direct evidence of Shakespeare's growing pre-eminence as an actor and as a playwright.

In the month of. December, following the publication of Greene's Groatsworth of Wit we have even more important evidence of Shakespeare's recognised preeminence as a man of character. In his "Kind Hartes Dreame" Chettle, the publisher of the attack, penned the following apology:-"I am as sorry as if the original fault had been my fault, because myself have seen his (i.e. Shakespeare's) demeanour no less civil than he excellent in the quality he professes, besides divers of worship have reported his uprightness of dealing, which argues his honesty, and his facetious grace in writing that approves his art."

Shakespeare probably referred to Greene's cleath soon afterwards:-

> "The thrice-three Muses, mourning for the death Of Learning, late deceased in beggary."
1593. In this year was published "Venus \& Adonis," dedicated by the poet to Henry Wriothesley, : IIidsummer Nisht's Dream (cp. Preface).
third Earl of Southampton as " the first heir of my invention" ( $c f$. Preface). It is significant that the printer of the book was Richard Field, Shakespeare's fellow countryman. The title-page bore a quotation in Latin from Ovid's "Amores":-

> "Vilia miretur vuigus; mini flavus Apollo Pocula Castalia plena ministret aqua."
(Seven editions from I593-1602, cp. Preface.)
Under date " I of June, I593," the burial register of the parish church of St. Nicholas, Deptford, contains the following entry :-" Christopher Marlow, slain by Francis Archer,'" whom we know from another source to have been " a servingman, a rival of his in his lewd love." Shakespeare subsequently referred to Marlowe in the famous lines :-

> " Dead Shepherd! now I find thy saw of might,
> "Who ever loved that loved not at first sight."
1594. At the beginning of the year "Titus Andronicus," described as a "new play," was acted by the Earl of Sussex's men.

Lord Derby died on April 16, and was succeeded as licenser and patron by Henry Carey, Lord Hunsdon, Lord Chamberlain (he died in I596, and was succeeded by his son, who became Lord Chamberlain in I597). Shakespeare's company performed for a short time at the new theatre at Newington Butts, and subsequently between I598 and I599 at "The Curtain" and "The Theatre."

Roderigo Lopez, the Queen's Jewish physician, was hanged in June (cf. Preface, Merchant of Venice): Henslowe produced at the Rose on August 25 " the Venesyon

[^0]Comedy" (probably an early version of "The Merchant of Venice")

In December of this year Shakespeare performed before the Queen at Greenwich Palace; he is named in the manuscript accounts of the Treasurer of the chamber:"William Kempe, William Shakespeare and Richard Burbage"; they acted two comedies or "interludes."

On December 28, when he was thus engaged at Greenwich, "The Comedy of Errors" was played in the hall of Gray's Inn. There was considerable confusion brought about by the students of the Inner Temple: "and after such sports, a Comedy of Errors, like to Plautus his Menechmus, was played by the players; so that night was begun and continued to the end in nothing but confusion and errors, whereupon it was ever afterwards called the Night of Errors."

In this year "The Taming of a Shrew"-the original of Shakespeare's "The Taming of the Shrezw"-was printed for the first time; and "The first part of the Contention betwixt the two famous houses of Yorke and Lancaster" (cp. 2 Henry VI.), was surreptitiously published.

Shakespeare's second volume of verse, "Lucrece," was published this year, printed by Richard Field, and dedicated to the Earl of Southampton. (Five editions, I5941616; cp. Preface.)

Soon after the publication of "Lucrece," "Willobie his Avisa" appeared, with a laudatory address referring to Shakespeare by name: "And Shake-speare paints poor Lucrece' rape" (the poem, re-published in 1596, 1605, r6og, is of interest in connection with the "Sonnets," $c p$. Preface).

A similar reference is perhaps found in "Epicedium, a funeral song, upon the vertuous life and godly death of the right worshipful the lady Helen Branch":-

[^1]Michael Drayton, in the same year, referred to the poem in his " Legend of Mathilda the Chaste":-
"Lucrece, of whom proud Rome hath boasted long, Lately reviv'd to live another age; " etc.
(found also in the 1596 edition, but expunged in later copies), while the pious poet Robert Southwell, executed Feb. 20, 1594-5, in his " St. Peters Complaint, with other poems," alluded to "Vemus and Adonis":-
"Still finest wits are 'stilling Venus' rose, In paynim toys the sweetest veins are spent, To christian works few have their talents lent."
In this year Spenser possibly referred to our poet in "Colin Clout's Come Home Again" as "Aetion," i.e. Eaglet:-
> " And there, though last not least is Aetion;
> A gentler shepherd may no where be found Whose muse, full of high thought's invention, Doth like herself heroically sound."
1595. In a curious volume "Polimanteia," published at Cambridge, there is a marginal reference to "All praise worthy Lucretia | Sweet Shakespeare | Wanton Adonis."

A more valuable contemporary allusion is John Weever's sonnet "ad Gulielmum Shakespeare," possibly belonging to the year I 595-6, though first printed in I 599 in "Epigrams in the oldest cut, and newest fashion. A twice seren hours (in so many weeks) study. No longer (like the fashion) not unlike to continue":-
"Honey-tongued Shakespeare, when I saw thine issue, I swore Apollo got them and none other, Their rosy-tainted features clothed in tissue, Some heaven-born goddess said to be their mother: Rose-cheek'd Adonis with his amber tresses, Fair fire-hot Venus charming him to love her, Chaste Lucretia virgin like her dresses, Proud lust-stung Tarquin seeking still to prove her:

Romeo, Richard: more whose names I know not,
Their sugred tongues, and power-attractive beauty,
Say they are saints, although that saints they shew not,
For thousands vow to them subjective duty:
They burn in love: thy children, Shakespeare, het ${ }^{1}$ them:
Go, woo thy muse: more nymphish brood beget them."
Weever, like the author of the previous work, was "a Cambridge man"-" one weaver fellow . . . els could he never have had such a quick sight into my virtues."

Another reference belonging to I595 is in Thomas Edwards' L'Envoy to "Cephalus and Procris":-

> "Adon deftly masking thro'
> Stately troops rich conceited, Shew'd he well deserved too
> Love's delight on him to gaze: And had not Love herself entreated, Other nymphs had sent him bays."

About this time Richard Carew wrote: " Will you read Virgil? Take the Earl of Surrey. Catullus? Shakespeare, and Marlow's fragment."
"The True Tragedie of Richard, Duke of York, and the death of good King Henry the Sirth, as it was sundry times acted by the Earl of Pembroke his servants" ( $c p .3$ Henry $V I$.) issued from the press during the year.

On Dec. I, "Edward III.," the pseudo-Shakespeare play (with its "lilies that fester smell far worse than weeds,"cp. Sonnets, xciv) was licensed and was published the following year.
1596. August II. Hamnet, the poet's only son, was buried in the parish church of Stratford. We may assume, but there is no evidence, that Shakespeare was present.

In this year, John Shakespeare-probably in accordance with the wishes of his son-made application to the

$$
{ }^{1} \text { i.c. heated. }
$$

College of Heralds for a coat-of-arms, stating that he had already, in I568, applied to the College, and obtained a pattern. Two copies of the draft of the grant proposed to be conferred on John Shakespeare, in reply to his application, in the year 1596, are preserved at the College of Arms. In the margin are the arms and crest, with the motto "Non sanz droict." After a preamble it is stated that being by "credible report informed that John Shakespeare, of Stratford-upon-Avon in the county of Warwick, whose parents and late antecessors were for their valiant and faithful service advanced and rewarded by the most prudent prince King Henry the Seventh of famous memorie, sithence which time they have continued at those parts in good reputation and credit; and that the said John having married Mary, daughter and one of the heirs of Robert Arden of Wilmcote, in the said county, gent. ${ }^{2}$ In consideration whereof, and for the encouragement of his posterity to whom these achievements might descend by the ancient custom and laws of arms, I have therefore assigned, granted, and by these presents confirmed this shield or coat of arms, viz., gold, on a bend sable, a spear of the first, the point steeled, proper, and for his crest or cognisance a falcon, his wings displayed argent, standing on a wreath of his colours, supporting a spear gold steeled as aforesaid, set upon a helmet with mantles and tassles as hath been accustomed and more plainly appeareth depicted on this margent."

The draft was not executed this year.
At the end of the year James Burbage purchased from Sir William More a large portion of a house in the Blackfriars, formerly belonging to Sir Thomas Cawarden, Master of the Revels, and afterwards converted it into a theatre: it was subsequently leased by his sons, Richard and Cuthbert, to Henry Evans for the performances of the "Children of the Chapel" ( $c p$. г 6 Io).

At this time Shakespeare was probably lodging near

[^2]"The Bear-Garden in Southwark," and possibly soon after in the parish of St. Helen's, Bishopsgate. The name is found in a list of residents there in 1598 , but there is no definite evidence of identity.
1597. Henry Brooke succeeded to the title as eighth Lord Cobham; the family claimed descent from Sir John Oldcastle, the Lollard chief. Probably owing to Lord Cobham's objections, the character "Oldcastle" was at this time changed to "Falstaff."

On May 4, Shakespeare purchased (for sixty pounds) New Place, a mansion with about an acre of land in the centre of Stratford-on-Avon (the final legal transfer being made five years later) ; many years passed before he himself settled there; meanwhile he let the house or part of it, and generally improved the property.

In this year another effort was made to get back the mrrtramed estate of Ashbies, but without success.

The first Quarto imperfect copy of "Romeo and Julict" was s. rreptitiously published (cp. Preface).
" Richard II." and "Richard III." were published anony nously; the Deposition Scene was omitted from the previous play ( $p$. Prefacc), and so, too. in the next edition, published in the following year. The 3rd and 4th editions, 1608 and 1615 , supply the omissions. "Richard III." was re-published in 1598, 1602, 1605, 1612.
1598. This year was published Francis Meres' "Palladis Tamia: Wit's Treasury, being the second part of Wit's Commonzucalth," containing the most important reference to Shakespeare's achievements up to that date:-
"As the soul of Euplorbus was thought to live in Pythagoras, so the sweet witty soul of Ovid lives in melliffuous and honey-tongued Shakespeare, witness his $V$ enus and Adonis, his Lucrece, his sugred sonnets among his private friends, \&c.

As Plautus and Seneca are accounted the best for Com-
edy and Tragedy among the Latins, so Shakespeare among the English is the most excellent in both kinds for the stage; for Comedy, witness his Gentlemen of Verona, his Errors, his Love's Labour's Lost, his Love's Labour's Won, his Midsummer-Night's Dream, and his Merchant of Venice; for Tragcdy, his Richard the II., Richard the III., Henry the IV., King John, Titus Andronicus, and his Romeo and Juliet.

As Epius Stolo said, that the Muses would speak with Plautus' tongue, if they would speak Latin; so I say that the Muses would speak with Shakespeare's fine-filed phrase, if they would speak English.

As Ovid saith of his work:-

> Janque opus exegi quod nec Jovis ira, nec ignis, Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolore vetustas.

And as Horace saith of his:-Exegi momumentum cere percmius; Regalique, situ pyramidum altius; Quod non imber edax, non aquilo impotcns possit diruere; aut innumcrabilcs annorum series, \&c., so say I severally of Sir Philip Sidney's, Spenser's, Daniel's, Drayton's, Shakespeare's and Wamer's works."
[It is significant that Meres omits Henry VI. from his list of plays, but includes Titus Andronicus.]
The following is the approximate chronological order of plays mentioned by Meres ( $c p$. Prefaces to individual plays):-Love's Labour's Lost (c. 1591), The Two Gentlemen of Verona (c. 1591), Comedy of Errors ( 1592 ), Romeo and Juliet ( $1592-6$, subsequently revised), Richard II. (1593), Richard III. (I593), Titus Andronicus (1594), Merchant of Venice (I594, subsequently revised), King John (1594), Midsummer-Night's Drcam (c. 1593-5, perhaps subsequently revised), the earlier
${ }^{1}$ The close connexion between the date of Titus and Peele's Honour of the Garter, to which Mr. Charles Crawford has recently called attention, inclines me to place the play after June, 1593. I do not accept Mr. Crawford's general conclusions (cp. Jahrbuch der d. Shak. Gesell. xxxvi.).
draft of All's Well thant Ends Well (i.e. Love's Labour Won) (before I595), Henry IV. (I597).

In this same year we have "A Remembrance of some English Poets," probably by Richard Barnfield. Spenser is praised for his Fairy Queen, Daniel for his Rosamond and that "rare work" The White Rose and the Red, Drayton for his well-written "Tragedies and sweet epis-tles":-
> " AndShakespeare thou, whose honey-flowing vein (Pleasing the world) thy praises doth obtain: Whose Venus and whose Lucrece, sweet and chaste, Thy name in Fame's immortal Book hath placed.

> Live ever you, at least in Fame live ever,
> Well may the body die, but Fame dies never."

According to a tradition preserved by Rowe "Queen Elizabeth was so well pleased with the admirable character of Falstaff in the two parts of Henry IV. that she commanded Shakespeare to continue it for one play more,


Bust of Sir Thomas Lucy. From the monament in
Charlecote Church. and to show him in love"; and another tradition ( $c p$. Dennis' dedication to The Comical Gallant, 1702) states that it was finished in fourteen davs. (Cp. Epilogue, 2 Henry IV.) The play of The Merry Wives may therefore safely be dated I 597. Justice Shallow with his "dozen white luces" was intended to suggest Sir Thomas Lucy of Charlecote.

The only other of Shakespeare's plays already written by the date of Meres' Palladis Tamia was probably The Taming of the Shrew, remarkable for the many allusions to Stratford and the neighbourhood in the Inductions ${ }^{1}$ ( $c p$. Preface).
${ }^{1}$ e.g. "Old Sly of Burton Heath" (=Barton-on-the-Heath) ; Marian Hacket of Wincot; "Old John Naps of Greece" ( $=$ Greet, in Gloucestershire) ; similarly in 2 Henry IV. "William

The following allusion to Shakespeare appeared in John Marston's "Scourge of Villainie," published this year:-
"Luscus, what's played to-day? Faith, now I know, I set thy lips abroad, from whence doth flow Nought but pure Julict and Romeo. Say, who acts best? Drusus or Roscio? Now I have him, that ne'er of ought did speak But when of plays or players he did treat. 'Hath made a common-place book out of plays, And speaks in print: at least whate'er he says, Is warranted by Curtain ${ }^{1}$ plaudeties.
If e'er you heard him courting Lesbia's eyes; Say, courteous sir, speaks he not movingly, From out some new pathetic tragedy?
He writes, he rails, he jests, he courts what not, And all from out his huge long-scraped stock Of well-penned plays."

Soon after the publication of Marston's "Scourge of Villainie," the author of "The Return from Parnassus" (probably John Day)" was at work on the second of his three plays, which was probably acted at St. John's College, Cambridge, at Christmas, I599. The following extracts sug- Bas-relief in plaster, formerly in Shakespeare's gest the character of
 ath, and formerly bore the date 1606 . Luscus:-
Visor of Woncot" (= Woodmancote) and "Clement Perks of the Hill" ( $=$ Stinchcombe Hill) are specific references to persons and places in Gloucestershire ; so, too, "Will Squele, a Cotswold man."
${ }^{1}$ Perhaps a quibbling allusion to the "Curtain" theatre.
${ }^{2}$ v. "Return from Parnassus," edited by the present writer.
*Gullio. Pardon, fair lady, though sick-thoughted Gullio makes amain unto thee, and like a bold-faced suitor 'gins to woo thee. ${ }^{1}$
Ingenioso. (We shall have nothing but pure Shakespeare and shreds of poetry that he hath gathered at the theatres.)
Gullio. Pardon me, moi mistressa, as I am a gentleman, the moon, in comparison of thy bright hue's a mere slut, Anthonio's Cleopatra a black-brow'd milkmaid, Helen a dowdy. Ingenioso. (Mark, Romeo and Juliet! ${ }^{2}$ O monstrous theft! I think he will run through a whole book of Samuel Daniels! $)^{3}$
Gullio. Thrice fairer than myself-thus I began-" "
" O sweet Mr. Shakespeare! I'll have his picture in my study at the court."

> "Let the duncified age esteem of Spenser and Chaucer, I 11 worship sweet Mr. Shakespeare, and to honour him will lay his Venus and Adonis under my pillow, as we read of one (I do not well remember his name, but I am sure he was a king) slept with Homer under his bed's head."

The revised Love's Labour's Lost was published this year, with Shakespeare's name for the first time on the title-page of a play
${ }^{1} c p$. " Sick-thoughted Venus makes amain unto liim, And like a bold-faced suitor 'gins to woo him." Venus and Adonis, st. i.
${ }^{2}$ cp. Romeo and Juliet, II. iv.
${ }^{3}$ Evidently Daniel's debt to Shakespeare was recognised (cp. Preface. Richard 11.) 'cp. Venus and Adonis, st. ii.


# eA <br> PLEASANT 

 Conceited Comedie CALLED, Loues labors loft.Asit voas prefented before her Highnes this last Chrifmas.

Newly correGted and augmented
By W. Shakefpere.


Imprintedat Londonby W.WF. for Cutbert Burby.
3598.

Robert Tofte's "The Month's Mind of a Melancholy Lover" appeared this year, with important allusions to this play:-
"Love's Labour Lost, I once did see a play
Y-cleped so, so called to my pain," etc.
(cp. Preface to Love's Labour's Lost).
The First Part of Henry IV. was issued this year (and a revised edition, "newly corrected," the following year, and again in 1604, 1608, 1615).

Shakespeare acted in Ben Jonson's Every Man in His Humour, produced in September by the Lord Chamberlain's Company. According to a tradition recorded by Rowe, Shakespeare was answerable for the acceptance of the piece. His name is placed first in the list of original performers of the play.

Some interesting correspondence directly mentioning Shakespeare belongs to this year:-(i.) from Abraham Sturley, formerly bailiff, to his brother or brother-in-law in London, containing these words-" This is one special remembrance from our father's motion. It seemeth by him that our countryman, Mr. Shakespeare, is willing to disburse some money upon some odd yardland or other at Shottery, or near about us: he thinketh it a very fit pattern to move him to deal in the matter of our tithes. By the instruction you can give him thereof, and by the friends he can make therefore, we think it a fair mark for him to shoot at, and would do us much good '" (ii.) from the same writer to Richard Quiney (father of Thomas Quiney, afterwards Shakespeare's son-in-law), at the time (November 4) staying in London, negotiating local affairs, probably seeking to obtain relief for Stratford from some tax. Sturley writes that Quiney's letter of October 25 had stated "that our countryman Mr. Wm. Shak. would procure us money," " which I like," he continues, " as I shall hear when, and where, and how ; and I pray let not go that occasion if it may sort to any indifferent conditions"; (iii.) on the very day when Quiney had written the letter which called forth this reply from

Sturley, he lad also addressed a communication "to my loving good friend and countryman Mr. Wm. Shakespare " 一the only letter addressed to Shakespeare which is known to exist:-



Facsimile of a letter from Richard Quine to Shakespeare, soliciting a loan, 1598.
"Loveinge countryman, I am bolde of yow as of a ffrende, craveinge yowr helpe with xxxf. Uppon Mr. Bushells and my securytee, or Mr. Myttons with me. Mr. Rosswell is nott come to London as yeate, and I have especiall cawse. Yow shall ffrende me muche in helpeing me out of all debettes I owe in London, I thancke God, and much quiet my mynde, which wolde not be indebted. I am nowe towardes the Cowrte, in hope of answer for the dispatche of my buysenes. Yow shall nether loase creddytt nor monney by me, the Lorde wyllinge; and nowe butt perswade yowrselfe soe, as I hope, and yow shall nott need to feare, butt, with all heartie thanckfullenes, I wyll holde my tyme, and content yowr ffrende, and yf we bargaine farther, yow shal be the paie-master yowrselfe. My tyme biddes me hestene to an ende, and soe I commit thys [to] yowr care and hope of yowr helpe. I feare I shall nott be backe thys night ffrom the Cowrte. Haste. The Lorde be with yow and with vs all, Amen! Firom the Bell in Carter Lane the 25 October 1598.
"Yowrs in all kyndeness,
"Ric. Quyney." ${ }^{1}$
1599. In the early part of this year Shakespeare was at work on Henry $V$. In the Prologue of Act V. (lines $30-35$ ) he alluded directly to Essex, "the general of our gracious empress," who left London on March 27 of this year for Ireland to suppress Tyrone's rebellion :-

> "Were now the general of our gracious empress, As in good time he may, from Ireland coming, Bringing rebellion broachèd on his sword, How many would the peaceful city quit To welcome him!"

Essex returned on September 28, and was put on his trial for neglect of duty, and imprisoned. At the time when Shakespeare wrote the Prologue in question it was
${ }^{1}$ The new Post Office Savings Bank has been built on the site of the Bell Inn in Carter Lane. A tablet has been placed on the building commemorating Quiney's stay there when he wrote this letter-" "the only letter extant addressed to Shakespeare, and the original is preserved in the Museum at his birthplace, Stratford-upon-Avon. This tablet was placed upon the present building by leave of the Postmaster-General, 1899."
not yet foreseen that the expedition would fail. The Earl of Southampton, Shakespeare's friend, accompanied Essex.

Richard Burbage and his brother Cuthbert built up, from the ruins of the old "Theatre," the "Globe Theatre" on the Bankside, to which Shakespeare probably referred in the opening chorus of Henry $V$. (this wooden O). Between 1595 and 1599 we have notices of Shakespeare's Company acting at "the Curtain " and "the Theatre."

Shares in the receipts of the Globe were leased out, for twenty-one years, to " those deserving men, Shakespeare, Hemings, Condell, Philips, and others."

Another application was made this year to the Coliege of Heralds-this time for a " recognition" of the arms formerly assigned, and for permission to impale and quarter the coat of the Ardens of Wilmcote. The object of the petition was evidently to link the Ardens of Wilmcote with the great Arden family of Warwickshire. This was refused, and the arms of another Arden family-of Cheshire-were suggested. Shakespeare and his family ultimately assumed the Shakespeare arms without adding the Arden coat.

The second quarto-the true version-of "Romeo and Julict," "newly corrected, augmented and amended " was issued this year (re-issued in two editions in 1609).

William Jaggard published the piratical "Passionate Pilgrim" "by W. Shakespeare" (cp. Preface). "I know" wrote Heywood in his "Apology for Actors" (1612) "he was much offended with M. Jaggard that (altogether unknown to him) presumed to make so bold with his name." (In this year, 1612, a 'third edition' appeared, with Shakespeare's name omitted from the titlepage of some copies.)
1599. A play on the subject of "Troilus and Cressida" was taken in hand by Dekker and Chettle for the Earl of Nottingham's company.

In November of this year English actors visited Scotland, and were received by the King. Their chiefs were Laurence Fletcher and Martin (the former belonged to Shakespeare's company in 1603 ). The visit was repeated in r6or. There is no evidence that Shakespeare was one of these travellers to Scotland.
1600. In March of this year Shakespeare recovered in London the sum of $£ 7$ from one John Clayton.

On August 4, a memorandum was made in the Stationers' Register to the effect that "As You Like It, Henry V., Every, Man in His Humour, and Much Ado About Nothing" were "to be stayed." On the i4th Every Man in His Humour was duly licensed; and on the 23rd, Much Ado About Nothing and 2 Henry IV., "with the lumours of Sir John Falstaff, written by Master Shakespeare." Henry $V$. was printed, imperfectly, without license by Thomas Creede. As You Like It was not issued from the press during the poet's lifetime ; it was probably written during the previous year; to the same year Much Ado may safely be assigned. In the quarto edition, William Kemp's name is prefixed to some of Dogberry's speeches, and Cowley to some of Verges' (cp. IV. ii.). In this year or I599 " the new map of the world with the Augmentation of the Indies" was first issued with Hakluyt's Voyages; Shakespeare was evidently at work on Tivelfth Night about this time, and referred to the map (III. ii. 83). According to the entry in the Diary of a barrister, Manningham, this piece was produced at Middle Temple Hall, Feb. 2, 160I-2 (cp. Preface).

The same Diary about this time recorded the following contemporary story:-"Upon a time when Burbage played Richard III., there was a citizen gone so far in liking with him, that before she went from the play she appointed him to come that night unto her by the name of Richard III. Shakespeare, overhearing their conclusion, went before, was entertained, and at his game ere

Burbage came. The message being brought that Richard III. was at the door, Shakespeare caused return to be made that William the Conqueror was before Richard III."
" The Merchant of Venice," and " Midsummer Night's Dream" were published for the first time this year, two editions in each case, the former being printed from two independent copies. To this year belongs, too, the only quarto edition of "Titus."
"The Sccond part of Henry IV." was printed this year, with the reference in the Epilogue to the change of character from " Oldcastle" to "Falstaff "-" Oldcastle died a martyr, and this is not the man." About the same time a poor play on the subject of "Sir John Oldcastle" was published in two editions, one having Shakespeare's name on the title-page.

John Weever, in "The Mirror of Martyrs, or the life, and death of Sir John Oldcastle, Knight, Lord Cobman," referred to " Julius Casar," evidently Shakespeare's play :-

> "The many-headed multitude were drawn By Brutus' speech. that Cæsar was ambitious, When eloquent Mark Antony had shown
> His virtues, who but Brutus then was vicious? Man's memory, with new, forgets the old, One tale is good, until another's told."
1601. On February 5 a play on "Richard II." (probably Shakespeare's) was acted at the Globe Theatre (cp. Preface to Richard II.).

February 8 was the day fixed by Essex for stirring up a rebellion in London.

On February if Sir Gilly Meyricke was examined in connexion with the Essex Rebellion:--" He sayeth that upon Saturday last was sennight he dined at Gunter's in the company of the Lord Monteagle, Sir Christopher Blunt, Sir Charles Percy, Ellis Jones, and Edward Bushell, and who else he remembereth not and after dinner
that day and at the motion of Sir Charles Percy and the rest they all went together to the Globe over the water where the Lord Chamberlain's men use to play, and were there somewhat before the play began, Sir Charles telling them that the play would be of Harry the IVth. Whether Sir John Daviss were there or not this examinate cannot tell, but he said he would be there if he could. He cannot tell who procured that play to be played at that time except it were Sir Charles Percy, but as he thinketh it was Sir Charles Percy. Then he was at the same play and came in somewhat after it was begun, and the play was of King Harry the IVth, and of the killing of King Richard the second played by the L. Chamberlain's players."

Next day, February 18th, Augustine Phillipps, servant unto the Lord Chamberlain and one of his players, was examined:-" He sayeth that on Friday last was sennight, on Thursday Sir Charles Percy, Sir Joselyn Percy and the Lord Monteagle with some three more spake to some of the players in the presence of this examinate to lave the play of the Deposing and Killing of King Richard the second to be played the Saturday next promising to get them XI. shillings more than their ordinary to play it. Where this examinate and his fellows were determined to have played some other play, holding that play of King Richard to be so old and so long out of use as that they should have small or no company at it. But at their request this examinate and his fellows were content to play it the Saturday and had their XI. shillings more than their ordinary for it and so played it accordingly."

On February 19th, Essex, with Southampton, were brought to trial on a capital charge of treason. Both were convicted and condemned to death. Essex was executed on the 25th; Southampton's sentence was commuted to imprisonment for life (he was set free in 1603 by King James on his accession, cp. Preface to Sonnets).

## LIFE OF SHAKESPEARE

In April there died one Thomas Whittington of Shottery, who was evidently identical with "my shepherd," mentioned by Richard Hathaway in 1581. In a will drawn up in May, Whittington bequeathed " unto the poor people of Stratford XLs. that is in the hand of Anne Shaxspere, wife unto Mr. Wyllyam Shaxspere, and is due debt unto me, being paid to mine executor by the said Wyllyam Shaxspere or his assignees according to the true meaning of this my will."

John Shakespeare, the poet's father, died, and was buried on September 8. The Henley Street property passed to his eldest son.

Robert Chester's Love's Martyr, containing the Turtle and Phomix (cp. Preface) was first published in this year.

In " The Return from Parnassus"-the third play of the Parnassus trilogy-acted by the students of St. John's College, Cambridge, probably at their Christmas festivities this or next year, Burbage and Kemp were introduced, the former referring to his rôle of Richard III. :-
" Kempe. Few of the university pen plays well, they smell too much of that writer Ovid, and that writer Metamorphosis, and talk too much of Proserpina and Juppiter. Why here's our fellow Shakespeare puts them all down, aye, and Ben Jonson too. O that Ben Jonson is a pestilent fellow, he brought up Horace giving the poets a pill, but our fellow Shakespeare hath given him a purge that made him bewray his credit.

Burbage. He's a shrewd fellow, indeed: I wonder these scholars stay so long, they appointed to be here presently that we might try them: oh, here they come.

I like your face, and the proportion of your body for King Richard III. I pray, Mr. Philomusus, let me see you act a little of it.

Philomusus. 'Now is the winter of our discontent,' \&c."

In the same play a character Judicio passed this judgement on "William Shakespeare":

> "Who loves not Adon's love, or Lucrece rape? His sweeter verse contains heart-throbbing line, Could but a graver subject him content, Without love's foolish, lazy languishment."

The allusion in The Return from Parnassus to Ben Ionson's "purge" cannot be satisfactorily explained; it can only be understood in its connexion with the StageQuarrel between Ben Jonson and the so-called Poetasters (cp. Preface to Troilus and Cressida). About this time, too, the boy-actors became exceedingly popular (cp. Hamlet ii. 2). They performed Cynthia's Revels, I600, and The Poetaster, I60I.
1602. On May i Shakespeare purchased from William and John Combe one hundred and seven acres of arable land, which he added to New Place, also, on September 28, a cottage and garden in Chapel Lane held from the manor of Rowington. Shakespeare was not in Stratford at the former date: the conveyance was made to his brother Gilbert.

An imperfect version of The Merry Wives was published this year by Thomas Creede.

Under the date July 26, 1602 , was entered in the Stationers' Registers, "The Revenge of Hamlet Prince of Denmarke, as yt was latelie acted by the Lord Chamberleyne his servauntes."
1603. On Feb. 2 Shakespeare's company performed before the Queen at Richmond.

On February 7 a license obtained by James Roberts for "the booke of Troilus and Cressida as yt is acted by my Lord Chamberlens men" (probably Shakespeare's play,
"1 Other editions, "Who loves Adonis' love, or Lucrece rape," " heart-robbing life," and omit " lazy."
perhaps before revision; but the book was not published this year).

March 26th. Death of Queen Elizabeth. Henry Chettle in England's Mourning Garment (published after the burial, 28th of April) taxed the poets for not penning elegies:-
> " Nor doth the silver-tongued Melicert Drop from his honied muse one sable tear, To mourn her death that graced his desert, And to his lays opened her royal ear.

> Shepherd, remember our Elizabeth, And sing her rape, done by that Tarquin, death."

On May 7 King James arrived in London; on May 19th a license was granted to Shakespeare, Burbage and other members of the Lord Chamberlain's Company to perform stage plays " within their now usual house called the Globe" and anywhere else in the kingdom. They were henceforth to be "The King's Servants."

London was visited by the plague this year, the theatres were closed, and "the King's Players" went on tour, being forbidden "to present any plays publicly in or near London by reason of great peril that might grow through the extraordinary concourse and assembly of people to a new increase of the plague."

On December 2, the court being at that time at Wilton, the seat of William Herbert, third Earl of Pembroke, the company by royal command, performed there, and received $£^{3} \mathrm{O}$ " by way of his Majesty's reward." Subsequently they were summoned to appear at Hampton Court and Whitehall. Nine plays in all were acted at the Christmas and New Year festivities.

John Davies of Hereford in "Microcosmos: the discovery of the Little World, with the government thereof," 1603, addressed the players, and more particularly "W. S. R. B." (i.e. William Shakespeare and Richard Burbage), in the following eulogistic lines:
> " Players, I love ye and your Quality, As ye are men that pass time not abused:
> And ${ }^{2}$ some I love for ${ }^{2}$ painting, poesie, And say fell Fortune cannot be excused
> That hath for better uses you refus'd:
> Wit, courage, good shape, good parts, and all good, As long as all these goods are no worse used,
> And though the stage doth stain pure gentle blood, Yet ${ }^{3}$ generous ye are in mind and mood."

This year were published the the first quarto of Hamlet, surreptitiously printed (cp. Preface) ; Ben Jonson's Sejanus, with Shakespeare's name in the list of actors; and Florio's translation of Montaigne's Essays (cp. Preface to Tempest).
1604. On February Sth, owing to the continuance of the plague, $\mathrm{f}_{3} \mathrm{O}$ was given to Burbage "for the maintenance and relief of himself and company." On March ${ }^{15 t h}$ King James made his formal entry into London: nine actors belonging to the King's company walked in the procession, each being presented with four yards and a half of scarlet cloth. The nine actors named were "William Shakespeare, Augustinc Phillipps, Laurence Fletcher, John Hemmings, Richard Burbage, William Slye, Robert Armyn, Henry Condell, Richard Cowley." Dekker's description of "The Magnificent Entertainment" with the speeches and songs ran through three or four issues during the year.

On April 9th a letter was sent by the King to the Mayor and Justices ordering them to permit playing by the King's men at the Globe, and the Queen's and Prince's

1" W. S. R. B." : in the margin.
2 " Simonides saith that painting is a dumb Poesy, and Poesy a speaking painting" : in the margin.
s" Roscius was said for his excellency in his quality, to be only worthy to come on the stage, and for his honesty to be more worthy than to come thereon ": in the margin.
men at "their usual houses," viz., the Fortune and the Curtain, respectively.
In June Shakespeare must have been at Stratford: on the 25 th of the month he lent the sum of two shillings to one Philip Rogers, who already owed him Ex. r9s. Iod. for malt supplied between March 27th and the end of May. He paid six shillings off the debt. In July Shakespeare sued him in the local court at Stratford for the balance of $E_{\mathrm{I} .}$ I5s. Iod.

The following letter from Sir Walter Cope to "The Right Honourable the Lord Viscount Cranborne at the Court," belongs to this year:-


#### Abstract

" Sir,-I have sent and been all this morning hunting for players, jugglers, and sueh kind of creatures, but find them liard to find, wherefore leaving notes for them to seek me, Burbage is come, and says there is no new play that the Queen hath not seen, but they have revived an old one, called Love's Labour Lost, whieh for wit and mirth he says will please her exeeedingly. And this is appointed to be played to-morrow night at my lord of Southampton's, unless you send a writ to remove the Corpus cum causa to your hotise in Strand. Burbage is my messenger ready attending your pleasure,-Yours Most Humbly, Walter Cope."


In August every member of the company was summoned to be in attendance at Somerset House, on the occasion of the visit of the Spanish Ambassador to England, but there is no evidence that their professional services were required.

The King's Company acted at court on November I and 4 , December 26 and 28 . It is almost certain that Othello was acted on November I, and Mcasure for Measure on December 26.

Other performances by the company were given on the following January 7 and 8, February 2 and 3, and on Shrove Sunday, Shrove Monday, and Shrove Tuesday.

In January of this year "The Children of the Chapel" became " The Children of Her Majesty's Revels."

In this year the second Quarto of Hamlet was pub-
lished-" Newly imprinted and eniarged to almost as much again as it was, according to the new and perfect copy."
A tragedy of Gowery twice acted by the King's Players, " with exceeding concourse of people " gave offence, and is noticed towards the end of the year:-" Whether the matter or manner be not well handled, or that it be thought unfit that princes should be played on the stage in their lifetime, I hear that some great councillors are much displeased with it, and so 'tis thought it shall be forbidden" (Chamberlain to Winwood).
On December 26, Measure for Measure was produced for the first time at Whitehall.
1605. Augustine Phillipps bequeathed "to my fellow, William Shakespeare, a thirty-shillings piece of gold."
On March 3, at Oxford, was baptised William D'Avenant (afterwards Sir W. D'Avenant), son of John D'Avenant, landlord of the Crown Inn, Shakespeare acting as godfather.

According to Aubrey:-" Mr. William Shakespeare was wont to go into Warwickshire once a year, and did commonly in his journey lie at this house in Oxon., where he was exceedingly respected."
In this year Shakespeare bought the unexpired lease of a moiety of the Stratford tithes.
1606. Macbeth was probably completed this year ( $c p$. Preface).
On December 26 King Lear was produced, for the first time, before the Court at Whitehall.
1607. Shakespeare's daughter Susanna was married on June 5, of this year, to John Hall, who subsequently became " very famous" as a physician (cp. "Select Observations on English bodies, or cures both emperical and historical, performed upon very eminent persons in desperate diseases, first written in Latin by Mr.

John Hall. plyysician, living at Stratford-upon-Avon, in Warwickshire, where he was very famous, as also in the counties adjacent, as appeares by these Observations," etc., London, 1657).

In this year The Puritan; or, the Widow of Watling Strect was published, containing a direct reference to Banquo's Ghost - "Instead of a jester we 'll have a ghost in a white sheet sit at the upper end of the table."

Shakespeare was probably at work on Antory and Cleopatra.

In this year was published Mirrha, the Mother of Adonis, or Lustes Prodegies, by William Barksted, containing the following concluding lines:-
"But stay, my Muse, in thine own confines keep, And wage not war with so dear lov'd a neighbour; But having sung thy day-song. rest and sleepe; Preserve thy small fame and his greater favour. His song was worthy merit;-Shakespeare, he Sung the fair blossom, thou, the withered tree; Laurel was due to him; his art and wit Hath purchased it ; cypress thy brow will fit."
On November 26 King Lear was entered on the "Stationers' Registers."
1608. Two quartos of King. Lear issued from the press ( $c$. Preface).

On February 2I Elizabeth Hall, Shakespeare's only grand-daughter, was baptised in the church of the Holy Trinity, Stratford-upon-Avon.

On September 9, Shakespeare's mother was buried.
On October 16, of this year, Shakespeare stood godfather to William, son of Henry Walker, mercer and alderman, Stratford-on-Avon.

Timon of Athens was probably being prepared for the stage during this year.

On May 20 Edward Blount entered in the "Stationers' Registers" "a booke called Anthony and Cleopatra" (but no quarto edition was issued).

George Wilkins published in this year a novel, avowedly based on the acted drama of Pericles, with the following title-page:-" The Painful Adventures of Pericles, Prince of Tyre. Being the true History of Pericles, as it was lately presented by the worthy and ancient Poet, John Gower."
1609. Two editions of the play of Pericles were issued, "by William Shakespeare" [but evidently only in part by him, otherwise by George Wilkins: though reissued in 16Ir, 1619, 1630, and 1635, the play was not included in either the first or second folios, cp Preface].
1609. On January 28 Richard Bonian and Henry Walley obtained a license for " a booke called the history of Troylus and Cressida," i.c. Shakespeare's play, which soon after was published as a quarto, (i.) with a titlepage stating that the play was printed " as acted by the King's Majesties servants at the Globe," and (ii.) with a title-page omitting this reference, and adding a preface to the effect that the play was " never staled with the stage, never clapper-clawed with the palms of the vulgar," etc. (cp. Preface).

On May 20 a license for the publication of "Shakespeare's Somets" was granted to the publisher, Thomas Thorpe: the volume was shortly afterwards published (cp. Preface).

Coriolanus probably belongs to this year (cp. Preface).
At the end of the year, Shakespeare's Company took possession of the Blackfriars Theatre after the departure of the Children of the Chapel.
1610. [possibly an error for i6ir]. On April 20 of this year Dr. Simon Forman was present at a performance of Macbeth at the Globe, and recorded the fact, with observations, in his "Book of Plays."

Dr. Simon Forman saw Cymbeline acted either this year or the next (the Diary contains reports of Shake-
spearian representations in 1610-1611, but no date is assigned to the Cymbelinc entry, $c p$. Preface).

An interesting pamphlet was published this year by Sylvester Jourdain, entitled A Discovery of the Bermudas, otherwise called the Ile of Devils; by Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Sommers, and Captayne Newport, and divers others. (William Strachey's fuller account of the matter was printed in 1612, Preface to Tempest).

John Davies of Hereford's The Scourge of Folly, consisting of satirical Epigrams and others in honour of many noble and worthy persons of our land, contains the following verses addressed "To our English Terence, Mr Will: Shake-speare ":
" Some say, good Will, which I, in sport, do sing, Had'st thou not played some kingly parts in sport, Thou hadst been a companion for a king, And been a King among the neaner sort. Some others rail, but rail as they think fit, Thou hast no railing, but a reigning wit; And honesty thou sow'st, which they do reap, So to increase thcir stock which they do keep."


New Place, Stratford, 1702. There is no authentic record of the appearance of the house as it was in Shakespeare's time.

In April Shakespeare purchased from the Combes 20 acres of land ( $c p$. 1602).
1611. On May 15 Dr. Forman witnessed the performance of $A$ Winter's Tale at the Globe Theatre-evidently a new play at the time ( $c p$. Preface).

Malone stated, on evidence no longer accessible, that: The Tempest was in existence in this year.

Shakespeare's name is found on the margin of a subscription list started at Stratford-on-Avon on September II, "towards the charge of prosecuting the bill in Parliament for the better repair of the highway." By this time he had probably settled at New Place.
1613. On February 4 Shakespeare's third brother, Richard, was buried in the parish church, Stratford-uponAvon. Soon afterwards Shake-


Signature of Shakespeare from the deed mortgaging his house in Blackfriars, on March 11, $16 \mathbf{1 2 - 3}$, now in the Britısh Museum. speare was in London, and purchased a house, as an investment, in Blackfriars. The purchasedeed, dated March Io, with the poet's signature, is preserved in the Guildhall Library, London. Next day a mortgage-deed relating to the purchase was signed: this is also extant, and is now in the British Museum.

To this year, July I5, belongs an entry by the Registrar of the Ecclesiastical Court of Worcester, concerning an action for slander brought by Shakespeare's eldest daughter, Susanna Hall, against a person of the name of Lane. Robert Whatcott, Shakespeare's friend, was the chief witness on behalf of the plaintiff, whose char-
acter was vindicated, and the defendant, who did not appear in court, was excommunicated.

The Tempest, one of a series of nineteen plays, was performed at the festivities in celebration of the marriage of Princess Elizabeth with the Elector Frederick.

Besides The Tempest, six more of Shakespeare's plays were produced on this occasion:-Much Ado, Tempest, Winter's Tale, Sir John Falstaff (i.e. Merry Wives), Othello, Julius Casar, and Hotspur (probably I Henry IV.).

In the same list occurs the lost play of cardenno or cardenna, which on September 9, 1653, was entered on the "Stationers' Registers" as "by Fletcher and Shakespeare," but was never published.

On June 29th of this year the Globe Theatre was burned down during the performance of a play on the subject of Henry VIII. (cp. Preface).
"A Sonnet upon the pitiful burning of the Globe playhouse in London" was composed by one who was well acquainted with the details of the fire:-
" Now sit ye down, Melpomene,
Wrapt in a sea-cole robe,
And tell the doleful tragedy,
That late was played at Globe;
For no man that can sing and say
Was scared on St. Peter's daye.
Oh sorrow, pitiful sorrow, and yet all this is true.
Out run the knights, out run the lords,
And there was great ado;
Some lost their hats and some their swords,
E'en out-run Burbidge too;
The reprobates though drunk on Monday,
Prayed for the fool and Henry Condye.
Oh sorrow, pitiful sorrow, and yet all this is true.
The perriwigs and drum-heads fry,
Like to a butter firkin,
A woful burning did betide
To many a good buff jerkin.

Then will swoll'n eyes, like drunken Flemminges,
Distressed stood old stuttering Hemminges.
Oh sorrow, pitiful sorrow, and yet all this is true."
1614. Ben Jonson in the Introduction to his Bartholomezo Fair, first acted in this year, alluded to The Tempest:-" If there be never a Servant-monster i' the Fair, who can help it, he says? nor a nest of Antics.


A piece of glass, W.A.S. (William and Anne Shakespeare? ') supposed to have come from New Place. He is loth to make nature afraid in his Plays, like those that beget Tales, Tempests, and such like Drollcries."

In July of this year John Combe died, leaving Shakespeare a legacy of $f_{5}$.

In the autumn an attempt was made by William Combe, John Combe's heir to enclose the common fields about his estate at Welcombe. Shakespeare's interest as landowner and leaseholder of tithes would have suffered if the project had been carried out. On October I8, Replingham, Combe's agent, agreed to give him full compensation for injury by "any inclosure or decay of tillage," and accordingly he did not oppose the inclosure. The Corporation, however, maintained its opposition.

In November Shakespeare went to London, and his cousin, Thomas Greene, town clerk of Stratford, visited him there to discuss the matter on behalf of the Corporation. On December 23, the Corporation addressed a formal letter to Shakespeare, supported by a private note to " my cousin" from T. Greene, asking him to support their opposition to the inclosure, which if carried out
would cause great inconveniences. The whole project was ultimately abandoned.
1615. In Thomas Greene's diary there is the following entry :-" Sept. Mr Shakespeare telling J. Greene that I was not able to beare the enclosing of Welcombe."
1616. Early in this year Francis Collins, a solicitor of Warwick, prepared the draft of Shakespeare's will; the engrossment was evidently to lave been signed on January 25 th, but after many interlineations and erasures, it was not finally signed until March. The signature was appended to each of the three sheets of the will; these three signatures, together with the two referred to above, are the only undisputed autographs of the poet.

trout sucjettrolt
Shakespeare's Will-signatures of the testator and witnesses.
In the interval, Judith, the poet's younger daughter, was married on February roth, at Stratford Church, to

Thomas Quiney, vintner and wine-merchant, son of Richard Quiney, whose letter to the poet is extant ( $c p$. I 598).

The marriage was somewhat irregular; and the parties were summoned a few weeks afterwards to the Ecclesiastical Court at Worcester, and fined for getting married without a license.

It would seem that at the time of revising and signing the will, the poet was seriously ill. According to a local tradition, recorded in the Diary of the Rev. John Ward, vicar of Stratford-on-Avon (I662), " Shakespeare, Drayton, and Ben Jonson had a merry meeting, and, it seems, drank too hard, for Shakespeare died of a fever there contracted," but it is quite clear that already, at the beginning of the year, the poet recognised his health was failing.

On April 23 (May 3, new style) he died, having completed his fifty-second year-the death-day in all probability being on his birthday.

Two days after his death, on the 25th of April, the remains of the poet were interred in the chancel of Stratford Church. On a flat stone over the grave the following words were subsequently inscribed:-

[A letter written in the year 1694 by William Hall, an Oxford graduate, to his intimate friend, Edward Thwaites, the eminent Anglo-Saxon scholar, contains the following noteworthy passage :-
"I very greedily embrace this occasion of acquainting


CHURCH IN STRATFORD-ON.AVON, WITH TOMB OF SHAKESPEARE.

GOOD FREND FOR IESVS SAKE FORBEARE
TO DIGG THE DVST ENCLOASED HEARE:
BLESTE BE YE MAN YT SPARES THES STONE8,
AND CURST BE HE YT MOVES MY BONES.
you with something which I found at Stratford-uponAvon. That place I came unto on Thursday night, and the next day went to visit the ashes of the great Shakespear, which be interr'd in that church. The verses which in his life-time he ordered to be cut upon his tombstone, for his monument have others, are these which follow, ' Reader, for Jesus's sake forbear, etc.' The little learning these verses contain would be a very strong argument of the want of it in the author, did not they carry something in them which stands in need of a comment. There is in this church a place which they call the bone-house, a repository for all bones they dig up, which are so many that they would load a great number of waggons. The poet, being willing to preserve his bones unmoved, lays a curse upon him that moves them, and having to do with clerks and sextons, for the most part a very ignorant sort of people, he descends to the meanest of their capacities, and disrobes himself of that art which none of his co-temporaries wore in greater perfection. Nor has the design missed of its effect, for, lest they should not only draw this curse upon themselves, but also entail it upon their posterity, they have laid him full seventeen foot deep, deep enough to secure him."]

On June 22 the will was proved in London by John Hall, Shakespeare's son-in-law and joint-executor (see Appendix).

Some years after (before 1623 ) the monument, executed by Gerard Johnson, was erected against the north wall of the chancel; beneath the famous bust of Shakespeare is the following inscription :-

## Judicio Pylium, genio Socratem, arte Maronem, Terra tegit, populus mæret, Olympus habet.

Stay passenger, why goest thou by so fast?
Read, if thou canst, whom envious death hath plast
Within this monument; Shakespeare with whome
Quick nature dide; whose name doth deck $\mathrm{y}^{\mathrm{s}}$ tombe

Far more than cost; sith all $\mathrm{y}^{\mathrm{t}}$ he hath writt Leaves living art but page to serve his witt.

Obiit Ano Do ${ }^{i}$ I6I6
Etatis 53, die 23 Ap.
Shakespeare's widow died on August 6, 1623, and was buried near the poet inside the chancel; Mrs. Susanna Hall, the elder daughter, died on July I I, 1649, and was buried beside her husband, who pre-deceased her in 1635 ; the inscription on her tombstone ( $c p$. accompanying illustration) is especially noteworthy; Judith, the younger daughter, died at Stratford on February 9, I66I-2; Elizabeth, the poet's only grandchild, was married in 1626 to Thomas Nash, who died in I647, and after his death, to Sir John Barnard of Abingdon, near Northampton; she died on the 17 th of February, $1669-70$, leaving no issue by either marriage. The three children of Judith Shakespeare died young: no one of them attained to man's estate. On the death of Lady Barnard the heir to the Henley Street property was Thomas Hart, the grandson of the poet's sister Joan-the last of the Hart family, in the male line, being John Hart, who died in 1800.
1619. In this year died Richard Burbage, the famous actor, Shakespeare's life-long friend. An elegy "on Mr Richard Burbage an excellent both painter and player," cemposed soon after his death, recorded his chief Shakespearian rôles:-

> "Some skilful limner aid me; if not so, Some sad tragedian help to express my woe; But, oh! he's gone, that could the best both limn And act my grief; and it is only him That I invoke this strange assistance to it, And on the point intreat himself to do it; For none but Tully Tully's praise can tell, And as he could no man could do so well This part of sorrow for him, nor here show So truly to the life this map of woe,
COPES OF TEE NRECRIPTIONA ON THE GRAVESTONES OP THB BHAKESPBABE FAMLLT.

|  |  |  |  |  |
| :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: | :---: |
|  Ves ro rome ont eanti ' inata <br>  pas presuep : "t of ms, *. 1134 LORO <br>  <br>  Soaching of shaiemperovis to chativen thic <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  Thes up Fith cemplorts orerlish Her lowe shell bie, her mexy apreds <br>  |  <br>  <br>  <br>  <br> Mrall Bipectina rigal geudia lete Del Digowe ent extis qail Netion necerm uhth to certh onsea mat mpat eque deat Ko mumato quid teath sdat edimion cevelue <br>  |  <br>  DATO: Expan of rong, naces, aprt. <br>  <br>  Ho acyes divithe, ahtellitarn diea Absidich er referes las divima a dive retome. - porters permicy anal persa perta. |  |  <br>  <br>  <br>  Ve minf mo uato moien max dibo. <br>  <br>  <br>  <br>  |

That grief's true picture which his loss hath bred.
He's gone, and with him what a world is dead,
Which he revived; to be revived so
No more: young Hamlet, old Hieronimo,
King Lear, the grieved Moor, and more beside
That lived in him, have now for ever died.
Oft have I seen him leap into the grave,
Suiting the person (that he seemed to have)
Of a sad lover with so true an eye,
That then I would have sworn he meant to die.
Oft have I seen him play this part in jest
So lively, that spectators and the rest
Of his sad crew, whilst he but seemed to bleed, Amazed thought even that he died indeed.
And did not knowledge check me, I should swear Even yet it is a false report I hear, And think that he that did so truly feign Is still but dead in jest, to live again;
But now he acts this part, not plays, 'tis known;
Others he played, but acted hath his own."
In this year were published a second edition of Merry Wives and a fourth edition of Pericles.
1622. Othello first printed, as a quarto, and new editions (the sixth) of Richard III. and I Henry IV.
1623. In this year, under the editorship of Shakespeare's fellow-actors and friends, John Heming and Henry Condell, appeared The First Folio, containing twenty hitherto unprinted plays:-The Tempest, The Two Gentlemen, Mcasure for Measure, Taming of the Shreze, Comedy of Errors, As You Like It, All's Well, Twelfth Night, Winter's Tale, King John, 1, 2, 3 Henry VI., Henry VIII., Coriolanus, Timon, Julius Casar, Macbeth, Antony and Cleopatra and Cymbeline.

The play of Troilus and Cressida, though included in the First Folio, was omitted in the table of contents ( $c p$. Preface to Troilus and Cressida).

The editors evidently purposely omitted Pericles (first

EXTERIOR OF CHURCH AT STRATFORD-ON-AVON
included, together with six pseudo-Shakespeare plays, in the Third Folio of 1663).
[The Two Noble Kinsmen was first published in 1634 , as being " by the memorable worthies of their time, Mr John Fletchet and Mr William Shakespeare, gentlemen."']

The prefatory matter of the First Folio will be found in Vol. I. of the present edition; it should be noted that Ben Jonson in his lines " I will not lodge thee by Chaucer, or Spenser, or Lord Beaumont lie," etc., directly refers to William Basse's elegy on Shakespeare, then circulating in manuscript (first printed in the first edition of Donne's collected poems, 1633):-

## On Mr Wm. Sifahespeare.

He died in April I ऽI6.
"Renowned Spenser lie a thought more nigh
To learned Chaucer, and rare Beaumont lie A little nearer Spenser, to make room For Shakespeare in your three-fold, four-fold tomb. To lodge all four in one bed make a shift Until Doomsday, for hardly will a fift, Betwixt this day and that by Fate be slain, For whom your curtains will be drawn again. If your precedency in death doth bar A fourth place in your sacred sepulchre, Under this carved marble of thine own, Sleep, rare Tragedian, Shakespeare, sleep alone; Thy unmolested peace, unshared cave, Possess as Lord, not Tenant, of thy grave, That unto us and others it may be Honour hereafter to be laid by thee."
(From Lansdowne MS. temp. James I., modernised.)

Among the commendatory verses prefixed to the First Folio are some lines by Leonard Digges: another poem by the same author is found prefixed to the edition of Shakespeare's poems published in I640, but as the author died
in 1635 , it is quite possible that the poem then first printed was originally intended for the 1623 Folio, and this is borne out by the general tone of the lines:-
> " Poets are born not made,-when I would prove This truth, the glad remembrance I must love Of never-dying Shakespeare, who alone Is argument enough to make that one. First, that he was a poet none would doubt, That heard th' applause of what he sees set out Imprinted; where thou hast-I will not say, Reader, his Works for to contrive a play To him 'twas none,-the pattern of all wit, Art without Art unparalleled as yet. Next Nature only helped him, for look thorough This whole book, thou shalt find he doth not borrow One phrase from Greeks, nor Latins imitate, Nor once from vulgar languages translate, Nor plagiary-like from others glean; Nor begs he from each witty friend a scene To piece-his Acts with; all that he doth write, Is pure his own; plot, language exquisite.
> But oh! what praise more powerful can we give
> The dead, than that by him the King's Men live, His players, which should they but have shared the fate, All else expired within the short term's date,
> How could the Globe have prospered, since, through want
> Of change, the plays and poems had grown scant?
> But, happy verse thou shalt be sung and heard,
> When hungry quills shall be such honour barred.
> Then vanish, upstart writers to each stage,
> You needy poetasters of this age;
> Where Shakespeare lived or spake, vermin, forbear,
> Lest with your froth you spot them, come not near;
> But if you needs must write, if poverty
> So pinch, that otherwise you starve and die,
> On God's name may the Bull or Cockpit have
> Your lame blank verse, to keep you from the grave:
> Or let new Fortune's younger brethren see,
> What they can pick from your lean industry.
> I do not wonder when you offer at
> Blackfriars, that you suffer: 'tis the fate

## LIFE OF SHAKESPEARE

1623
Of richer veins, prime judgments that have fared The worse, with this deceased man compared.
So have I seen, when Cæsar would appear, And on the stage at half-sword parley were, Brutus and Cassius, oh how the audience Were ravished! with what wonder they went thence,
When some new day they would not brook a line
Of tedious, though well laboured, Catiline;
Sejanus too was irksome, they prized more Honest Iago or the jcalous Moor. And though the Fox and subtle Alchemist, Long intermitted, could not quite be missed,
Though these have shamed all the ancients, and might raise
Their author's merit with a crown of bays,
Yet these sometimes, even at a friend's desire
Acted, have scarce defrayed the seacoal fire
And doorkeepers: when, let but Falstaff come,
Hal, Poins, the rest,-you scarce shall have a room. All is so pestered: let but Beatrice And Benedick be seen, lo, in a trice The cockpit, galleries, boxes, all are full To hear Malvolio, that cross-gartered gull. Brief, there is nothing in his wit-fraught book, Whose sound we would not hcar, on whose worth look, Like old coined gold, whose lines in every page Shall pass true current to succeeding age.
But why do I dead Shakespeare's praise recite, Some second Shakespeare must of Shakespeare write; For me 'tis needless, since an host of men Will pay, to clap his praise, to free my pen."

The Second Folio, reprinted from the First, was printed in 1632 ; it contained, by way of new prefatory matter, sundry verses by various writers, a fine eulogy, signed I. M. S., and, as a golden link between the poets, John Milton's anonymous Epitaph on the Admirable Dramaticke Poet, W. Shakespeare, written in 1630, practically the young poet's first appearance in print:-

[^3]Or that his hallow'd Reliques should be hid Under a stary-pointed Pyramid?
Dear Son of Memory, great Heir of Fame, What needst thou such dull witness of thy Name? Thou in our wonder and astonishment Hath built thyself a lasting monument For whil'st, to the shame of slow-endeavouring Art, Thy easy numbers flow, and that each heart Hath from the leaves of thy unvalued Book Those Delphic lines with deep impression took
Then thou, our fancy of herself bereaving,
Dost make us marble with too much conceiving, And so, sepúlcher'd in such pomp dost lie
That Kings for such a Tomb would wish to die."


Shakespeare's Birth-place, I899.

## APPENDIX.

## I.

License to Fletcher, Sitarespeare, and others to play comedies, \&\&c., 17 May, 1603.

By the King.-Right trusty and wel beloved Counsellour, we greete you well, and will and command you that, under our Privie Seale in your custody for the time being, you cause our lettres to be directed to the Keeper of our Greate Seale of England, comaunding him that under our said Greate Seale he cause our lettres to be made patentes in forme following.-James, by the grace of God King of England, Scotland, Fraunce and Irland, Defendor of the Faith, \&c., to all justices, maiors, sheriffes, constables, hedboroughes, and other our officers and loving subjectes greeting. Know ye that we, of our speciall grace, certaine knowledge and meere motion, have licenced and authorized, and by these presentes doo licence and authorize, these our servantes, Lawrence Fletcher, William Shakespeare, Richard Burbage, Augustine Phillippes, John Henningess, Henry Condell, William Sly, Robert Armyn, Richard Cowlye and the rest of their associates, freely to use and exercise the arte and facultie of playing comedies, tragedies, histories, enterludes, moralles, pastoralles, stage-plaies, and such other, like as they have already studied or heerafter shall use or studie, as well for the recreation of our loving subjectes as for our solace and pleasure when we shall thinke good to see them, during our pleasure. And the said comedies, tragedies, histories, enterludes, moralls, pastoralles, stage-plaies, and such like, to shew and exercise publiquely to their best commoditie, when the infec-
tion of the plague shall decrease, as well within their now usuall howse called the Globe within our countie of Surrey, as also within any towne-halles or mout-halles, or other convenient places within the liberties and freedome of any other cittie, universitie, towne or borough whatsoever within our said realmes and dominions, willing and comaunding you and every of you, as you tender our pleasure, not only to permit and suffer them heerin without any your lettes, hinderances, or molestacions during our said pleasure, but also to be ayding and assisting to them, yf any wrong be to them offered, and to allowe them such former courtesies as hath bene given to men of their place and qualitie. And also, what further favour you shall shew to these our servantes for our sake we shall take kindely at your handes. In witness whereof \&c. And these our lettres shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in this behalf. Given under our Signet at our Mannor of Greenwiche the seavententh day of May in the first yeere of our raigne of England, Fraunce and Irland, and of Scotland the six and thirtieth.-Ex: per Lake.To our right trusty and wel beloved Counsellour, the Lord Cecill of Esingdon, Keeper of our Privie Seale for the time being.

## II.

Malone's Memoranda (in the Bodleian Library) from the accounts at the Revels at Court for 1604 and 1605 ; the original source of the information (formerly at the Audit Office in Somerset House) cannot norv be found. Cunningham's list, printed in 1842, was probably based on Malone's document:-

1604 \& $1605-E d^{d}$. Tylney-Sunday after Hallowmas -Merry Wyves of Windsor perf ${ }^{\text {d }}$ by the K 's players-Hallamas-in the Banquetting hos ${ }^{\text {s }}$. at Whitehall the Moor of Venis-perf ${ }^{d}$ by the K's players-on $S^{t}$ Stephens Night -Mesure for Mesur by Shaxberd—perfa. by the K's
players-On Innocents night Errors by Shaxberd perf ${ }^{d}$. by the K's players--On Sunday following " How to Learn of a Woman to wooe by Hewood, perf ${ }^{d}$. by the Q's play-ers-On New Years Night-All fools by G. Chapman perf ${ }^{d}$. by the Boyes of the Chapel-bet New $y^{\text {ris }}$. day and twelfth day-Loves Labour lost perfd. by the K's p : ${ }^{\text {rs }}$ On the yth Jan. K. Hen. the fifth perfd. by the K.'s PrsOn 8th Jan-Every one out of his humour-On Candlemas night Every one in his humour-On Shrove sunday the Marchant of Venis by Shaxberd-perfd. by the K's $\mathrm{P}^{\text {rs }}$-the same repeated on Shrove tuesd. by the K's Comm ${ }^{\text {d }}$.

## III.

The deed from Shakespeare and Trustees to Henry Walker, by which the Blackfriars Estate was mortgaged to the latter, IIth March, 1612-13 (in the British Museum).

This Indenture made the eleaventh day of March, in the yeares of the reigne of our Sovereigne Lord James, by the grace of God, king of England, Scotland, Fraunce and Ireland, defender of the Faith, \&c., that is to saie, of England, Fraunce and Ireland the tenth, and of Scotland the six and fortith; betweene William Shakespeare, of Stratiord-upon-Avon in the countie of Warwick, gentleman, William Johnson, citizein and vintener of London, John Jackson and John Hemmyng, of London, gentlemen, of th'one partie, and Henry Walker, citizein and minstrell of London, of th'other partie: Witnesseth that the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson and John Hemmyng, have dimised, graunted and to ferme letten, and by theis presentes doe dimise, graunt and to ferme lett unto the said Henry Walker all that dwelling-house or tenement, with th'appurtenaunces, situate and being within the precinct, circuit and compasse of the late Black Fryers, London, sometymes in the tenure of James Gardyner, esquiour, and since that in the tenure
of John Fortescue, gent., and now or late being in the tenure or occupacion of one William Ireland, or of his assignee or assignes, abutting upon a streete leading downe to Puddle Wharffe on the east part, right against the Kinges Majesties Wardrobe; part of which said tenement is erected over a greate gate leading to a pacitall mesuage which sometyme was in the tenure of William Blackwell, esquiour, deceased, and since that in the tenure or occupacion of the right honourable Henry, now Earle of Northumberland; and also all that plott of ground, on the west side of the same tenement, which was lately inclosed with boordes on two sides thereof by Anne Bacon, widow, soe farre and in such sorte as the same was inclosed by the said Anne Bacon, and not otherwise, and being on the third side inclosed with an olde brick wall; which said plott of ground was sometyme parcell and taken out of a great voyde peece of ground lately used for a garden; and also the soyle whereuppon the said tenement standeth, and also the said brick wall and boordes which doe inclose the said plott of ground, with free entrie, accesse, ingresse, egresse and regresse, in, by and through the said great gate and yarde there, unto the usuall dore of the said tenement; and also all and singuler cellours, sollers, romes, lightes, easiamentes, profittes, commodities and appurtenaunces whatsoever to the said dwelling-house or tenement belonging, or in any wise apperteyning: to have and to holde the said dwelling-house or tenement, cellers, sollers, romes, plott of ground, and all and singuler other the premisses above by theis presentes mencioned to bee dimised, and every part and parcell thereof, with theappurtenaunces, unto the said Henrye Walker, his executours, administratours and assignes, from the feast of th'annunciacion of the blessed Virgin Marye next comming after the date hereof, unto th'ende and terme of one hundred yeares from thence next ensuing, and fullie to bee compleat and ended, without ympeachment of or for any manner of waste; yeelding and paying therefore yearlie
during the said terme unto the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson and John Hemmyng, their heires and assignes, a peppercorne at the feast of Easter yearlie, yf the same bee lawfullie demaunded, and noe more; provided alwayes that if the said William Shakespeare, his heires, executours, administratours or assignes, or any of them, doe well and trulie paie or cause to bee paid to the said Henry Walker, his executours, administratours or assignes, the some of threescore poundes of lawfull money of England in and upon the nyne and twentith day of September next comming after the date hereof, at or in the nowe dwelling-house of the said Henry Walker, situate and being in the parish of Saint Martyn neere Ludgate, of London, at one entier payment without delaie, that then and from thensforth this presente lease, dimise and graunt, and all and every matter and thing herein conteyned, other then this provisoe, shall cease, determyne, and bee utterlic voyde, frustrate, and of none effect, as though the same had never beene had ne made, theis presentes, or any thing therein conteyned to the contrary thereof, in any wise notwithstanding. And the said William Shakespeare, for himselfe, his heires, executours and administratours, and for every of them, doth covenaunt, promisse and graunt to and with the said Henry Walker, his executours, administratours and assignes and every of them, by theis presentes, that hee, the said William Shakespeare, his heires, executours, administratours or assignes, shall and will cleerlie acquite, exonerate and discharge, or from tyme to tyme, and at all tymes hereafter, well and sufficientlie save and keep harmles the said Henry Walker, his executours, administratours and assignes, and every of them, and the said premises by theis presentes dimised, and every parcell thereof, with th'appurtenaunces, of and from all and al manner of former and other bargaynes, sales, guiftes, grauntes, leases, joyntures, dowers, intailes, statutes, recognizaunces, judgmentes, execucions, and of and from all and every other charges, titles, trobles and in-
cumbraunces whatsoever by the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, John Jackson and John Hemmyng, or any of them, or by their or any of their meanes, had, made, committed or donne, before th'ensealing and delivery of theis presentes, or hereafter before the said nyne and twentith day of September next comming after the date hereof, to bee had, made, committed or donne, except the rentes and services to the cheefe lord or lordes of the fee or fees of the premisses, for or in respect of his or their seigniorie or seigniories onlie, to bee due and donne. In witnesse whereof the said parties to theis indentures interchaungablie have sett their seales. Yeoven the day and yeares first above written. 16I2Wm. Shakspere.-Wm. Johnson.-Jo: Jackson.-Sealed and delivered by the said William Shakespeare, William Johnson, and John Jackson, in the presence of Will: Atkinson ; Ed. Ouery ; Robert Andrewes, scr.; Henry Lawrence, servant to the same scr.

## IV.

Shakespeare's Will (preserved at Somerset House).

## (The Italics represent interlineations.)

Vicesimo quinto die Januarii Martii, anno regni domini nostri Jacobi, nunc regis Anglie, \&c. decimo quarto, et Scotie xlix ${ }^{0}$ annoque Domini 1616.
T. Wmi. Shackspeare.-In the name of God, amen! I William Shackspeare, of Stratford-upon-Avon in the countie of Warr. gent., in perfect health and memorie, God be praysed, doe make and ordayne this my last will and testament in manner and forme followeing, that ys to saye, First, I comend my soule into the handes of God my Creator, hoping and assuredlie beleeving, through thonelie merittes of Jesus Christe, my Saviour, to me made partaker of lyfe everlastinge, and my bodye to the earth whereof yt ys made. Item, I gyve and bequeath unto
my sonne in L daughter Judyth one hundred and fyftie poundes of lawfull English money, to be paied unto her in manner and forme followeing, that ys to saye, one hundred poundes in discharge of her marriage porcion within one yeare after my deceas, with consideracion after the rate of twoe shillinges in the pound for soe long tyme as the same shal be unpaied unto her after my deceas, and the fyftie poundes residewe thereof upon her surrendring of, or gyving of such sufficient securitie as the overseers of this my will shall like of to surrender or graunte, all her estate and right that shall discend or come unto her after my deceas, or that shee nowe hath, of, in or to, one copiehold tenemente with thappurtenaunces lyeing and being in Stratford-upon-Avon aforesaied in the saied countie of Warr., being parcell or holden of the mannour of Rowington, unto my daughter Susanna Hall and her heires for ever. Item, I gyve and bequeath unto my saied daughter Judith one hundred and fyftie poundes more, if shee or anie issue of her bodie be lyvinge att thend of three yeares next ensueing the daie of the date of this my will, during which tyme my executours to ${ }^{\text {s }}$ paie her consideracion from my deceas according to the rate aforesaied; and if she dye within the saied terme without issue of her bodye, then my will ys, and I doe gyve and bequeath one hundred poundes thereof to my neece Elizabeth Hall, and the fiftie poundes to be sett fourth by my executours during the lief of my sister Johane Harte, and the use and proffitt thereof cominge shal be payed to my saied sister Jone, and after her deceas the saied $1.1^{11}$ shall remaine amongst the children of my saied sister equallie to be devided amongst them; but if my saied daughter Judith be lyving att the end of the saied three yeares, or anie yssue of her bodye, then my will ys and soe I devise and bequeath the saied hundred and fyftie poundes to be sett out by my executours and overseers for the best benefitt of her and her issue, and the stock not to be paied unto her soe long as she shalbe marryed and covert baron by my executours and overseers; but my will ys that she
shall have the consideracion yearelie paied unto her during her lief, and, after her deceas, the saied stock and consideracion to bee paied to her children, if she have anie, and if not, to her executours or assignes, she lyving the saied terme after my deceas, Provided that if such husbond as she shall att thend of the saied three yeares be marryed unto, or att anie after ${ }^{\mathbf{s}}$, doe sufficientle ${ }^{\mathbf{s}}$ assure unto her and thissue of her bodie landes awnswereable to the porcion by this my will gyven unto her, and to be adjudeged so by my executours and overseers, then my will ys that the saied $\mathrm{cl} .^{1 i}$. shalbe paied to such husbond as shall make such assurance, to his owne use. Item, I gyve and bequeath unto my saied sister Jone xx. ${ }^{11 .}$ and all my wearing apparrell, to be paied and delivered within one yeare after my deceas; and I doe will and devise unto her the house with thappurtenaunces in Stratford, wherein she dwelleth, for her naturall lief, under the yearelie rent of xij. ${ }^{\text {d. }}$ Item, I gyve and bequeath unto her three sonns, William Harte,

Hart, and Michaell Harte, fyve poundes a peece, to be payed within one yeare after my deceas to be sett out for her within one yeare after my deceas by my executours, with thadvise and direccions of my overseers, for her best proffitt untill her marriage, and then the same with the increase thereof to be paied unto her. Item, I gyve and bequeath unto her the saied Elizabeth Hall all my plate except my brod silver and gilt bole, that I now have att the date of this my will. Item, I gyve and bequeath unto the poore of Stratford aforesaied tenn poundes; to Mr. Thomas Combe my sword; to Thomas Russell esquier fyve poundes, and to Frauncis Collins of the borough of Warr. in the countie of Warr., gent., thirteene poundes, sixe shillinges, and eight pence, to be paied within one yeare after mv deceas. Item, I gyve and bequeath to Mr. Richard Tyler thelder Hamlet Sadler xxvj. s. viij. to buy him a ringe; to William Raynoldes, gent., xxvj.s. viij. d. to buy him a ring; to my godson William Walker xx.s. in gold; to Anthonye Nashe gent. xxvj.s. viij. ${ }^{\text {d. }}$, and to Mr. John Nashe xxvj.s. viijd. in
gold, and to my fellowes, John Hemynges, Richard Burbage and Henry Cundell, $x x a j$.s. aiij. ${ }^{\text {d. }}$ a pecec buy them ringes. Item, I gyve, will, bequeath and devise, unto my daughter Susanna Hall, for better enabling of her to performe this mywill, and towardes the performans thereof, all that capitallmessuage or tenemente, with thappurtenaunces, in Stratford aforesaied, called the Newe Place, wherein I nowe dwell, and twoe messuages or tenementes with thappurtenaunces, scituat lyeing and being in Henley streete within the borough of Stratford aforesaied; and all my barnes, stables, orchardes, gardens, landes, tenementes and hereditamentes whatsoever, scituat, lieing and being, or to be had, receyved, perceyved, or taken, within the townes, hamlettes, villages, fieldes and groundes of Stratford-upon-Avon, Oldstratford, Bushopton, and Welcombe, or in anie of them in the saied countie of Warr. And alsoe all that messuage or tenemente with thappurtenaunces wherein one John Robinson dwelleth, scituat lyeing and being in the Blackfriers in London nere the Wardrobe ; and all other my landes, tenementes, and hereditamentes whatsoever, To have and to hold all and singuler the saied premisses with their appurtenaunces unto the saied Susanna Hall for and during the terme of her naturall lief, and after her deceas, to the first sonne of her bodie lawfaillie yssueing, and to the heires males of the bodie of the saied first sonne lawfullie yssueinge, and for defalt of such issue, to the second sonne of her bodie lawfullie issueinge, and of to the heires males of the bodie of the saied second sonne lawfullie yssueinge, and for defalt of such heires, to the third sonne of the bodie of the saied Susanna lawfullie yssueing, and of the heires males of the bodie of the saied third sonne lawfullie yssueing, and for defalt of such issue, the same soe to be and remaine to the fourth sonne, fyfth, sixte, and seaventh sonnes of her bodie lawfullie issueing one after another, and to the heires males of the bodies of the saied fourth, fifth, sixte, and seaventh sonnes lawfullie yssueing, in such manner as yt ys before lymitted to be and remaine
to the first, second and third sonns of her bodie, and to their heires males, and for defalt of such issue, the saied premisses to be and remaine to my sayed neece Hall, and the heires males of her bodie lawfullie yssueing, and for defalt of such issue, to my daughter Judith, and the heires males of her bodie lawfullie issueinge, and for defalt of such issue, to the right heires of me the saied William Shackspeare for ever. Itcm, I gyze unto my wiefe my second best bed with the furniture. Item, I gyve and bequeath to my saied daughter Judith my broad silver gilt bole. All the rest of my goodes, chattels, leases, plate, jewels, and household stuffe whatsoever, after my dettes and legasies paied, and my funerall expences discharged, I gyve, devise, and bequeath to my sonne-in-lawe, John Hall, gent., and my daughter Susanna, his wief, whom I ordaine and make executours of this my last will and testament. And I doe intreat and appoint the saied Thomas Russell, esquier, and Frauncis Collins, gent., to be overseers hereof, and doe revoke all former wills, and publishe this to be my last will and testament. In witnes whereof I have hereunto put my seale hand the daie and yeare first above written.-By me Wil'.am Shakspeare.

Witnes to the publishing hereof,-Fra: Calyns; Julius Shawe; John Robinson ; Hamnet Sadler; Rfbert Whattcott.

## APPENDIX

## V.

"De Shakespeare nostrati" (Of Shakespeare, our fellow-countryman ), from Ben Jonson's "Timber, or Dis. coveries, being Observations on Men and Manners," printed 1641; but the entry was probably weritten about 1620 ( $c p$. Ben Jonson's "Timber" in the "Temple Classics"; and Notes to "Julius Casar").

I remember the players have often mentioned it as an honour to Shakespeare, that in his writing (whatsoever he penned) he never blotted out a line. My answer hath been, " Would he had blotted a thousand," which they thought a malevolent speech. I had not told posterity this but for their ignorance who chose that circumstance to commend their friend by wherein he most faulted; and to justify mine own candour, for I loved the man, and do honour his memory on this side idolatry as much as any. He was, indeed, honest, and of an open and free nature; had an excellent phantasy, brave notions, and gentle expressions, wherein he flowed with that facility that sometimes it was necessary he should be stopped. "Suflaminandus erat," ${ }^{1}$ as Augustus said of Haterius. His wit was in his own power; would the rule of it had been so, too! Many times he fell into those things, could not escape laughter, as when he said in the person of Cæsar, one speaking to him, "Cæsar, thou dost me wrong." He replied, "Cæsar did never wrong but with just cause"; and such like, which were ridiculous. ${ }^{2}$ But he redeemed his vices with his virtues. There was ever more in him to be praised than to be pardoned.

[^4]
## Shakespeare-the Man.

## Shakespeare-the Man.

## BY WALTER BAGEHOT.

THE greatest of English poets, it is often said, is but a nanie. "No letter of his writing, no record of his conversation, no character of him drawn with any fulness by a contemporary," have been extracted by antiquaries from the piles of rubbish which they have sifted. Yet of no person is there a clearer picture in the popular fancy. You seem to have known Shakespeare-to have seen Shakespeare-to have been friends with Shakespeare. We would attempt a slight delineation of the popular idea which has been formed, not from loose tradition or remote research, not from what some one says some one else said that the poet said, but from data which are at least undoubted, from the sure testimony of his certain works.

Some extreme sceptics, we know, doubt whether it is possible to deduce anything as to an author's character from his works. Yet surely people do not keep a tame steam-engine to write their books; and if those books were really written by a man, he must have been a man who could write them; he must have had the thoughts which they express, have acquired the knowledge they contain, have possessed the style in which we read them. The difficulty is a defect of the critics. A person who knows nothing of an author he has read, will not know much of an author whom he has seen.

First of all, it may be said that Shakespeare's works could only be produced by a first-rate imagination working on a first-rate experience. It is often difficult to make out whether the author of a poetic creation is drawing from fancy, or drawing from experience; but for art

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on a certain scale, the two must concur. Out of nothing, nothing can be created. Some plastic power is required, however great may be the material. And when such works as Hamlet and Othello, still more, when both they and others not unequal, have been created by a single mind, it may be fairly said, that not only a great imagination but a full conversancy with the world was necessary to their production. The whole powers of man under the most favourable circumstances, are not too great for such an effort. We may assume that Shakespeare had a great experience.

To a great experience one thing is essential, an experiencing nature. It is not enough to have opportunity, it is essential to feel it. Some occasions come to all men; but to many they are of little use, and to some they are none. What, for example, has experience done for the distinguished Frenchman*, the name of whose essay is prefixed to this paper? M. Guizot is the same man that he was in I820, or, we believe, as he was in I8I4. Take up one of his lectures, published before he was a practical statesman; you will be struck with the width of view, the amplitude and the solidity of the reflections; you will be amazed that a mere literary teacher could produce anything so wise ; but take up afterwards an essay published since his fall-and you will be amazed to find no more. Napoleon the First is come and gone-the Bourbons of the old régime have come and gone-the Bourbons of the new régime have had their turn. M. Guizot has been first minister of a citizen king; he has led a great party; he has pronounced many a great discours that was well received by the second elective assembly in the world. But there is no trace of this in his writings. No one would guess from them that their author had ever left the professor's chair. It is the same, we are told, with smail matters: when M. Guizot walks the street, he seems to see nothing; the head is thrown back, the eye fixed, and the mouth working. His mind is no doubt at work, but

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it is not stirred by what is external. Perhaps it is the internal activity of mind that overmasters the perceptive power. Anyhow there might have been an émeute in the street and he would not have known it; there have been revolutions in his life, and he is scarcely the wiser. Among the most frivolous and fickle of civilised nations he is alone. They pass from the game of war to the game of peace, from the game of science to the game of art, from the game of liberty to the game of slavery, from the game of slavery to the game of license; he stands like a schoolmaster in the playground, without sport and without pleasure, firm and sullen, slow and awful.

A man of this sort is a curious mental phenomenon. He appears to get early-perhaps to be born with-a kind of dry schedule or catalogue of the universe; he has a ledger in his head, and has a title to which he can refer any transaction; nothing puzzles him, nothing comes amiss to him, but he is not in the least the wiser for anything. Like the book-keeper, he has his heads of account, and he knows them, but he is no wiser for the particular items. After a busy day, and after a slow day, after a few entries, and after many, his knowledge is exactly the same: take his opinion of Baron Rothschild, he will say: "Yes, he keeps an account with us"; of Humphrey Brown: "Yes, we have that account, too." Just so with the class of minds which we are speaking of, and in greater matters. Very early in life they come to a certain and considerable acquaintance with the world; they learn very quickly all they can learn, and naturally they never, in any way, learn any more. Mr. Pitt is, in this country, the type of the character. Mr. Alison, in a wellknown passage, makes it a matter of wonder that he was fit to be a Chancellor of the Exchequer at twenty-three, and it is a great wonder. But it is to be remembered that he was no more fit at forty-three. As somebody said, he did not grow, he was cast. Experience tatught him nothing, and he did not believe that he had anything to learn. The habit of mind in smaller degrees is not very rare, and

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might be illustrated without end. Hazlitt tells a story of West, the painter, that is in point: When some one asked him if he had ever been to Greece, he answered: "No; I have read a descriptive catalogue of the principal objects in that country, and I believe I am as well conversant with them as if I had visited it." No doubt he was just as well conversant, and so would be any doctrinaire.

But Shakespeare was not a man of this sort. If he walked down a street, he knew what was in that street. His mind did not form in early life a classified list of all the objects in the universe, and learn no more about the universe ever after. From a certain fine sensibility of nature, it is plain that he took a keen interest not only in the general and coarse outlines of objects, but in their minutest particulars and gentlest gradations. You may open Shakespeare and find the clearest proofs of this; take the following :-
"When last the young Orlando parted from you He left a promise to return again Within an hour, and pacing through the forest, Chewing the food of sweet and bitter fancy, Lo, what befel! he threw his eye aside, And mark what object did present itself:
Under an oak, whose boughs were moss'd with age, And high top bald with dry antiquity, A wretched ragged man, o'ergrown with hair, Lay sleeping on his back: about his neck A green and gilded snake had wreathed itself, Who with her head nimble in threats approach'd The opening of his mouth; but suddenly, Seeing Orlando, it unlink'd itself, And with indented glides did slip away Into a bush: under which bush's shade A lioness, with udders all drawn dry, Lay couching, head on ground, with catlike watch, When that the sleeping man should stir ; for 'tis
The royal disposition of that beast
To prey on nothing that doth seem as dead:
This seen." etc.. etc.*
*As You Like It, IV. m.

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Or the more celebrated description of the hunt:-
"And when thou hast on foot the purblind hare, Mark the poor wretch, to overshoot his troubles, How he outruns the wind, and with what care He cranks and crosses, with a thousand doubles: The many musits through the which he goes Are like a labyrinth to amaze his foes.
"Sometime he runs among a flock of sheep, To make the cunning hounds mistake their smell, And sometinie where earth-delving conies keep, To stop the loud pursuers in their yell;

And sometime sorteth with a herd of deer;
Danger deviseth shifts; wit waits on fear:
"For there his smell with others being mingled, The hot scent-snuffing hounds are driven to doubt, Ceasing their clamorous cry till they have singled With much ado the cold fault cleanly out ;

Then do they spend their mouths: Echo replies, As if another chase were in the skies.
" By this, poor Wat, far off upon a hill, Stands on his hinder legs with listening ear, To hearken if his foes pursue him still: Anon their loud alarums he doth hear; And now his grief may be compared well To one sore sick that hears the passing-bell.
"Then shalt thou see the dew-bedabbled wretch Turn, and return, indenting with the way; Each envious brier his weary legs doth scratch, Each shadow makes him stop, each murmur stay

For misery is trodden on by many,
And being low never relieved by any." *
It is absurd, by the way, to say we know nothing about the man who wrote that; we know that he had been after a hare. It is idle to allege that mere imagination would tell him that a hare is apt to run among a flock of sheep,

* Venus and Adonis.


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or that its so doing disconcerts the scent of hounds. But no single citation really represents the power of the argument. Set descriptions may be manufactured to order, and it does not follow that even the most accurate or successful of them was really the result of a thorough and habitual knowledge of the object. A man who knows little of Nature may write one excellent delineation, as a poor man may have one bright guinea. Real opulence consists in having many. What truly indicates excellent knowledge, is the habit of constant, sudden, and almost unconscious allusion, which implies familiarity, for it can arise from that alone,-and this very species of incidental, casual, and perpetual reference to " the mighty world of eye and ear,"* is the particular characteristic of Shakespeare.

In this respect Shakespeare had the advantage of one whom, in many points, he much resembled-Sir Walter Scott. For a great poet, the organization of the latter was very blunt; he had no sense of smell, little sense of taste, almost no ear for music (he knew a few, perhaps three, Scotch tunes, which he avowed that he had learnt in sixty years, by hard labour and mental association), and not much turn for the minutix of Nature in any way. The effect of this may be seen in some of the best descriptive passages of his poetry, and we will not deny that it does (although proceeding from a sensuous defect), in a certain degree, add to their popularity. He deals with the main outlines and great points of Nature, never attends to any others, and in this respect he suits the comprehension and knowledge of many who know only those essential and considerable outlines. Young people, especially, who like big things, are taken with Scott, and bored by Wordsworth, who knew too much. And after all, the two poets are in proper harmony, each with his own scenery. Of all beautiful scenery the Scotch is the roughest and barest, as the English is the most complex and cultivated. What a difference is there between the

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minute and finished delicacy of Rydal Water and the rough simplicity of Loch Katrine! It is the beauty of civilisation beside the beauty of barbarism. Scott has himself pointed out the effect of this on arts and artists.
" Or see yon weather-beaten hind, Whose sluggish herds before him wind, Whose tatter'd plaid and rugged cheek His northern clime and kindred speak; Through England's laughing meads he goes, And England's wealth around him flows; Ask, if it would content him well, At ease in those gay plains to dwell, Where hedge-rows spread a verdant screen, And spires and forests intervene, And the neat cottage peeps between? No! not for these would he exchange His dark Lochaber's boundless range: Not for fair Devon's meads forsake Bennevis grey, and Garry's lake.

## " Thus while I ape the measure wild

 Of tales that charm'd me yet a child, Rude though they be, still with the chime, Return the thoughts of early time; And feelings, roused in life's first day, Glow in the line, and prompt the lay. Then rise those crags, that mountain tower, Which charm'd my fancy's wakening hour. Though no broad river swept along, To claim, perchance, heroic song; Though sigh'd no groves in summer gale, To prompt of love a softer tale;Though scarce a puny streamlet's speed Claim'd homage from a shepherd's reed;
Yet was poetic impulse given, By the green hill and clear blue heaven.
It was a barren scene, and wild,
Where naked cliffs were rudely piled;
But ever and anon between,
Lay velvet tufts of loveliest green;
And well the lonely infant knew

Recesses where the wall-fower grew
And honeysuckle loved to crawl
Up the low crag and ruin'd wall.

> "For me, thus nurtured, dost thou ask The classic poet's well-conned task? Nay, Erskine, nay-On the wild hill Let the wild heath-bell fourish still; Cherish the tulip, prune the vine, But freely let the woodbine twine, And leave untrimm'd the eglantine: Nay, my friend, nay-Since oft thy praise Hath given fresh vigour to my lays; Since oft thy judgement could refine My flatten'd thought, or cumbrous line; Still kind, as is thy wont, attend, And in the minstrel spare the friend. Though wild as cloud, as stream, as gale, Flow forth, flow unrestrain'd, my Tale."*

And this is wise, for there is beauty in the North as well as in the South. Only it is to be remembered that the beauty of the Trossachs is the result of but a few elements -say birch and brushwood, rough hills and narrow dells, much heather and many stones-while the beauty of England is one thing in one district and one in another; is here the combination of one set of qualities, and there the harmony of opposite ones, and is everywhere made up of many details and delicate refinements; all which require an exquisite delicacy of perceptive organisation, a seeing eye, a minutely hearing ear. Scott's is the strong admiration of a rough mind; Shakespeare's, the nice minuteness of a susceptible one.

A perfectly poetic appreciation of nature contains two elements, a knowledge of facts, and a sensibility to charms. Everybody who may have to speak to some naturalists will be well aware how widely the two may be separated. He will have seen that a man may study butterflies and forget that they are beautiful, or be perfect

* Marmion: Introduction to Canto $i i j$.


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in the "Lunar theory" without knowing what most people mean by the moon. Generally such people prefer the stupid parts of nature-worms and Cochin-China fowls. But Shakespeare was not obtuse. The lines-

> "Daffodils
> That come before the swallow dares. and take The winds of March with beauty; violets dim, But sweeter than the lids of Juno's eyes Or Cytherea's breath."*
seem to show that he knew those feelings of youth, to which beauty is more than a religion.

In his mode of delineating natural objects Shakespeare is curiously opposed to Milton. The latter, who was still by temperament, and a schoolmaster by trade, selects a beautiful object, puts it straight out before him and his readers, and accumulates upon it all the learned imagery of a thousand years; Shakespeare glances at it and says something of his own. It is not our intention to say that, as a describer of the external world, Milton is inferior; in set description we rather think that he is the better. We only wish to contrast the mode in which the delineation is effected. The one is like an artist who dashes off any number of picturesque sketches at any moment; the other like a man who has lived at Rome, has undergone a thorough training, and by deliberate and conscious effort, after a long study of the best masters, can produce a few great pictures. Milton, accordingly, as has been often remarked, is careful in the choice of his subjects; he knows too well the value of his labour to be very ready to squander it; Shakespeare, on the contrary, describes anything that comes to hand, for he is prepared for it whatever it may be, and what he paints he paints without effort. Compare any passage from Shakespeare-for example, those quoted before-and the following passage from Milton:-

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> "Southward through Eden went a river large, Nor changed his course, but through the shaggy hill
> Pass'd underneath ingulf'd, for God had thrown That mountain as His garden mound high raised Upon the rapid current, which through veins Of porous earth with kindly thirst up-drawn, Rose a fresh fountain, and with many a rill Water'd the garden ; thence united fell Down the steep glade, and met the nether flood, Which from his darksome passage now appears, And now divided into four main streams, Runs diverse, wandering many a famous realm And country, whereof here needs no account; But rather to tell how, if Art could tell, How from that sapphire fount the crispèd brooks Rolling on orient pearl and sands of gold, With mazy error under pendant shades Ran nectar, visiting each plant, and fed Flowers worthy of Paradise, which not nice Art In beds and curious knots, but Nature boon Pour'd forth profuse on hill, and dale, and plain, Both where the morning sun first warmly smote The open field, and where the unpierced shade Imbrown'd the noontide bowers. Thus was this place
> A happy rural seat of various view;
> Groves whose rich trees wept odorous gums and balm,
> Others whose fruit, burnish'd with golden rind,
> Hung amiable (Hesperian fables true,
> If true, here only), and of delicious taste;
> Betwixt them lawns or level downs, and flocks
> Grazing the tender herb, were interposed,
> Or palmy hillock; or the flowery lap
> Of some irriguous valley spread her store, Flowers of all hue, and without thorn the rose."*

Why, you could draw a map of it. It is not "Nature boon," but " nice art in beds and curious knots"; it is exactly the old (and excellent) style of artificial gardening, by which any place can be turned into trim hedgerows, and stiff borders, and comfortable shades; but there

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are no straight lines in Nature or Shakespeare. Perhaps the contrast may be accounted for by the way in which the two poets acquired their knowledge of scenes and scenery. We think we demonstrated before that Shakespeare was a sportsman, but if there be still a sceptic or a dissentient, let him read the following remarks on dogs:-
> " My hounds are bred out of the Spartan kind, So flew'd, so sanded; and their heads are hung With ears that sweep away the morning dew ; Crook-knee'd, and dew-lapp'd tike Thessalian bulls; Slow in pursuit, but match'd in mouth like bells, Each under each. A cry more tuneable Was never holla'd to, nor cheer'd with horn, In Crete, in Sparta, nor in Thessaly."*

"Judge when you hear." $\dagger$ It is evident that the man who wrote this was a judge of dogs, was an out-of-door sporting man, full of natural sensibility, not defective in "daintiness of ear," and above all things, apt to cast on Nature random, sportive, half-boyish glances, which reveal so much, and bequeath such abiding knowledge. Milton, on the contrary, went out to see Nature. He left a narrow cell, and the intense study which was his "portion in this life," to take a slow, careful, and reflective walk. In his treatise on education he has given us his notion of the way in which young people should be familiarised with natural objects. "But," he remarks, "to return to our institute; besides these constant exercises at home, there is another opportunity of gaining pleasure from pleasure itself abroad; in those vernal seasons of the year when the air is calm and pleasant, it were an injury and sullenness against Nature, not to go out and see her riches and partake in her rejoicing in heaven and earth. I should not therefore be a persuader to them of studying much in these, after two or three years, that they have well laid their grounds, but to ride out in companies, with prudent and staid guides, to all quarters of the

* A Midsummer-Night's Dream, IV. i. 124.

Ibid., next line.
land; learning and observing all places of strength, all commodities of building and of soil, for towns and tillage, harbours and ports of trade. Sometimes taking sea as far as our navy, to learn there also what they can in the practical knowledge of sailing and of sea-fight.", Fancy "the prudent and staid guides." What a machinery for making pedants. Perhaps Shakespeare would have known that the conversation would be in this sort: "I say, Shallow, that mare is going in the knees. She has never been the same since you larked her over the fivebar, while Moleyes was talking clay and agriculture. I do not hate Latin so much, but I hate 'argillaceous earth'; and what use is that to a fellow in the Guards, $I$ should like to know?" Shakespeare had himself this sort of boyish buoyancy. He was not " one of the staid guides." We might further illustrate it. Yet this would be tedious enough, and we prefer to go on and show what we mean by an experiencing nature in relation to men and women, just as we have striven to indicate what it is in relation t:o horses and hares.
The reason why so few good books are written, is that so few people that can write know anything. In general an author has always lived in a room, has read books, has cultivated science, is acquainted with the style and sentiments of the best authors, but he is out of the way of employing his own eyes and ears. He has nothing to hear and nothing to see. His life is a vacuum. The mental habits of Robert Southey, which about a year ago were so extensively praised in the public journals, are the type of literary existence, just as the praise bestowed on them shows the admiration excited by them among literary people. He wrote poetry (as if anybody could) before breakfast; he read during breakfast. He wrote history until dinner; he corrected proof-sheets between dinner and tea; he wrote an essay for the Quarterly afterwards; and after supper, by way of relaxation, composed the "Doctor"-a lengthy and elaborate jest. Now, what can any one think of such a life-except how clearly it

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shows that the habits best fitted for communicating information, formed with the best care, and daily regulated by the best motives, are exactly the habits which are likely to afford a man the least information to communicate. Southey had no events, no experiences. His wife kept house and allowed him pocket-money, just as if he had been a German professor devoted to accents, tobacco, and the dates of Horace's amours. And it is pitiable to think that so meritorious a life was only made endurable by a painful delusion. He thought that day by day, and hour by hour, he was accumulating stores for the instruction and entertainment of a long posterity. His epics were to be in the hands of all men, and his history of Brazil, the "Herodotus of the South American Republics." As if his epics were not already dead, and as if the people who now cheat at Valparaiso care a real who it was that cheated those before them. Yet it was only by a conviction like this that an industrious and caligraphic man (for such was Robert Southey), who might have earned money as a clerk, worked all his days for half a clerk's wages, at occupation much duller and more laborious. The critic in The Vicar of Wakefield lays down that you should alerays say that the picture would have been better if the painter had taken more pains; but in the case of the practised literary man; you should often enough say that the writings would have been much better if the writer had taken less pains. He says he has devoted his life to the subject-the reply is: "Then you have taken the best way to prevent your making anything of it." Instead of reading studiously what Burgersdicius and Enœsidemus said men were, you should have gone out yourself, and seen (if you can see) what they are.

After all, the original way of writing books may turn out to be the best. The first author, it is plain, could not have taken anything from books, since there were no books for him to copy from; he looked at things for himself. Anyhow, the modern system fails, for where are the amusing books from voracious students and habitual

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writers ? Not that we mean exactly to say that an author's hard reading is the cause of his writing that which is hard to read. This would be near the truth, but not quite the truth. The two are concomitant effects of a certain defective nature. Slow men read well, but write ill. The abstracted habit, the want of keen exterior interests, the aloofness of mind from what is next it, all tend to make a man feel an exciting curiosity and interest about remote literary events, the toil of scholastic logicians, and the petty feuds of Argos and Lacedæmon ; • but they also tend to make a man very unable to explain and elucidate those exploits for the benefit of his fellows. What separates the author from his readers, will make it proportionably difficult for him to explain himself to them. Secluded habits do not tend to eloquence ; and the indifferent apathy which is so common in studious persons is exceedingly unfavourable to the liveliness of narration and illustration which is needed for excellence in even the simpler sorts of writing. Moreover, in general it will perhaps be found that persons devoted to mere literature commonly become devoted to mere idleness. They wish to produce a great work, but they find they cannot. Having relinquished everything to devote themselves to this, they conclude on trial that this is impossible. They wish to write, but nothing occurs to them. Therefore they write nothing, and they do nothing. As has been said, they have nothing to do. Their life has no events, unless they are very poor. With any decent means of subsistence, they have nothing to rouse them from an indolent and musing dream. A merchant must meet his bills, or he is civilly dead and uncivilly remembered. But a student may know nothing of time and be too lazy to wind up his watch. In the retired citizen's journal in Addison's Spectator, we have the type of this way of spending the time: Mem. Morning 8 to 9 , "Went into the parlour and tied on my shoe-buckies." This is the sort of life for which studious men commonly relinquish the pursuits of business and the society of their fellows.

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Yet all literary men are not tedious, neither are they all slow. One great example even these most tedious times have luckily given us, to show us what may be done by a really great man even now, the same who before served as an illustration-Sir Walter Scott. In his lifetime people denied he was a poet, but nobody said that he was not "the best fellow" in Scotland-perhaps that was not much-or that he had not more wise joviality, more living talk, more graphic humour, than any man in Great Britain. "Wherever we went," said Mr. Wordsworth, "we found his name acted as an open sesame, and I believe that in the character of the sheriff's friends, we might have counted on a hearty welcome under any roof in the border country." Never neglect to talk to people with whom you are casually thrown, was his precept, and he exemplified the maxim himself. "I believe," observes his biographer, "that Scott has somewhere expressed in print his satisfaction, that amid all the changes of our manners, the ancient freedom of personal intercourse may still be indulged between a master and an out-of-door servant; but in truth he kept by the old fashion, even with domestic servants, to an extent which I have hardly ever seen practised by any other gentleman. He conversed with his coachman if he sat by him, as he often did, on the box-with his footman, if he chanced to be in the rumble. Indeed, he did not confine his humanity to his own people ; any steady-going servant of a friend of his was soon considered as a sort of friend too, and was sure to have a kind little colloquy to himself at coming or going." "Sir Walter speaks to every man as if he was his blood relation," was the expressive comment of one of these dependants. It was in this way that he acquired the great knowledge of various kinds of men, which is so clear and conspicuous in his writings; nor could that knowledge have been acquired on easier terms, or in any other way. No man could describe the character of Dandie Dinmont, without having been in Lidderdale. Whatever has been once in a book may be put into a book

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again; but an original character, taken at first hand from the sheepwalks and from Nature, must be seen in order to be known. A man, to be able to describe-indeed, to be able to know-various people in life, must be able at sight to comprehend their essential features, to know how they shade one into another, to see how they diversify the common uniformity of civilised life. Nor does this involve simply intellectual or even imaginative prerequisites, still less will it be facilitated by exquisite senses or subtle fancy. What is wanted is, to be able to appreciate mere clay-which mere mind never will. If you will describe the people,-nay, if you will write for the people, you must be one of the people. You must have led their life, and must wish to lead their life. However strong in any poet may be the higher qualities of abstract thought or conceiving fancy, unless he can actually sympathise with those around him, he can never describe those around him. Any attempt to produce a likeness of what is not really liked by the person who is describing it, will end in the creation of what may be correct, but is not livingof what may be artistic, but is likewise artificial.

Perhaps this is the defect of the works of the greatest dramatic genius of recent times-Goethe. His works are too much in the nature of literary studies; the mind is often deeply impressed by them, but one doubts if the author was. He saw them as he saw the houses of Weimar and the plants in the act of metamorphosis. He had a clear perception of their fixed condition and their successive transitions, but he did not really (if we may so speak) comprehend their motive power. So to say, he appreciated their life, but not their liveliness. Niebuhr, as is well known, compared the most elaborate of Goethe's works-the novel Wilhelm Meister-to a menagerie of tame animals, meaning thereby, as we believe, to express much the same distinction. He felt that there was a deficiency in mere vigour and rude energy. We have a long train and no engine-a great accumulation of excellent matter, arranged and ordered with masterly skill,

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but not animated with over-buoyant and unbounded play. And we trace this not to a defect in imaginative power, a defect which it would be a simple absurdity to impute to Goethe, but to the tone of his character and the habits of his mind. He moved hither and thither through life, but he was always a man apart. He mixed with unnumbered kinds of men, with courts and academies, students and women, camps and artists, but everywhere he was with them, yet not of them. In every scene he was there, and he made it clear that he was there with a reserve and as a stranger. He went there to experience. As a man of universal culture and well skilled in the order and classification of human life, the fact of any one class or order being beyond his reach or comprehension seemed an absurdity, and it was an absurdity. He thought that he was equal to moving in any description of society, and he was equal to it ; but then on that exact account he was absorbed in none. There were none of surpassing and immeasurably preponderating captivation. No scene and no subject were to him what Scotland and Scotch nature were to Sir Walter Scott. "If I did not see the heather once a year, I should die," said the latter; but Goethe would have lived without it, and it would not have cost him much trouble. In every one of Scott's novels there is always the spirit of the old moss trooper-the flavour of the ancient border; there is the intense sympathy which enters into the most living moments of the most living characters-the lively energy which becomes the energy of the most vigorous persons delineated. Marmion was "written" while he was galloping on horseback. It reads as if it were so.

Now it appears that Shakespeare not only had that various commerce with, and experience of men, which was common both to Goethe and to Scott, but also that he agrees with the latter rather than with the former in the kind and species of that experience. He was not merely with men, but of men; he was not a "thing apart,"*

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with a clear intuition of what was in those around him; he had in his own nature the germs and tendencies of the very elements that he described. He knew what was in man, for he felt it in himself. Throughout all his writings you see an amazing sympathy with common people, rather an excessive tendency to dwell on the common features of ordinary lives. You feel that common people could have been cut out of him, but not without his feeling it ; for it would have deprived him of a very favourite subject-of a portion of his ideas to which he habitually recurred.

Leon. What would you with me, honest neighbour?
Dog. Marry, sir, I would have some confidence with you, that decerns you nearly.
Leon. Brief, I pray you; for you see it is a busy time with me.
Dog. Marry, this it is, sir.
Verg. Yes, in truth it is, sir.
Leon. What is it, my good friends?
Dog. Goodman Verges, sir, speaks a little off the matter: an old man, sir, and his wits are not so blunt as, God help, I would desire they were; but, in faith, honest as the skin between his brows.
Verg. Yes, I thank God I am as honest as any man living that is an old man and no honester than I.
Dog. Comparisons are odorous: palabras, neighbour Verges.
Leon. Neighbours, you are tedious.
Dog. It pleases your worship to say so, but we are the poor duke's officers; but truly, for mine own part, if I were as tedious as a king, I could find in my heart to bestow it all of your worship.

Leon. I would fain know what you have to say.
Verg. Marry, sir, our watch to-night, excepting your worship's presence, ha' ta'en a couple of as arrant knaves as any in Messina.
Dog. A good old man, sir; he will be talking: as they say, When the age is in, the wit is out: God help us! it is a world to see. Well said, i' faith, neighbour Verges: well, God's a good man; an two men ride of a horse, one must

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ride behind. An honest soul, i' faith, sir; by my troth he is, as ever broke bread; but God is to be worshipped; all men are not alike; alas, good neighbour!
Leon. Indeed, neighbour, he comes too short of you.
Dog. Gifts that God gives.-etc., etc.*
Stafford. Ay, sir.
Cade. By her he had two children at one birth.
Bro. That's false.
Cade. Ay, there's the question; but I say, 'tis true:
The elder of them, being put to nurse,
Was by a beggar-woman stolen away; And, ignorant of his birth and parentage, Became a bricklayer when he came to age: His son am I; deny it, if you can.
Dick. Nay, 'tis too true ; therefore he shall be king.
Smith. Sir, he made a chimney in my father's house, and the bricks are alive at this day to testify it ; therefore deny it; not. $\dagger$

Shakespeare was too wise not to know that for most of the purposes of human life stupidity is a most valuable element. He had nothing of the impatience which sharp logical narrow minds habitually feel when they come across those who do not apprehend their quick and precise deductions. No doubt he talked to the stupid players, to the stupid door-keeper, to the property man, who considers paste jewels "very preferable, besides the ex-pense"-talked with the stupid apprentices of stupid Fleet Street, and had much pleasure in ascertaining what was their notion of King Lear. In his comprehensive mind it was enough if every man hitched well into his own place in human life. If every one were logical and literary, how would there be scavengers, or watchmen, or caulkers, or coopers? Narrow minds will be "subdued to what" they " work in." The " dyer's hand " $\ddagger$ will not more clearly carry off its tint, nor will what is moulded more precisely indicate the confines of the mould. A patient sympathy, a kindly fellow-feeling for the narrow

[^9] $\ddagger$ Shakespeare: Sonnets, CXI.
intelligence necessarily induced by narrow circumstances -a narrowness which, in some degrees, seems to be inevitable, and is perhaps more serviceable than most things to the wise conduct of life-this, though quick and halfbred minds may-despise it, seems to be a necessary constituent in the composition of manifold genius. "How shall the world be served?" asks the host in Chaucer. We must have cart-horses as well as race-horses, draymen as well as poets. It is no bad thing, after all, to be a slow man and to have one idea a year. You don't make a figure, perhaps, in argumentative society, which requires a quicker species of thought, but is that the worse?

Hol. Via, goodman Dull! thou hast spoken no word all this while.
Dull. Nor understood none neither, sir.
Hol. Allons! we will employ thee.
Dull. I'll make one in a dance, or so; or I will play on the On the tabor to the Worthies, and let them dance the hay. Hol. Most dull, honest Dull! To our sport, away!*

And such, we believe, was the notion of Shakespeare.
S. T. Coleridge has a nice criticism which bears on this point. He observes that in the narrations of uneducated people in Shakespeare, just as in real life, there is a want of prospectiveness and a superfluous amount of regressiveness. People of this sort are unable to look a long way in front of them, and they wander from the right path. They get on too fast with one half, and then the other hopelessly lags. They can tell a story exactly as it is told to them (as an animal can go step by step where it has been before), but they can't calculate its bearings beforehand, or see how it is to be adapted to those to whom they are speaking, nor do they know how much they have thoroughly told and how much they have not. " I went up the street, then I went down the street; no, first went down and then-but you do not follow me; I

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go before you, sir." Thence arises the complex style usually adopted by persons not used to narration. They tumble into a story and get on as they can. This is scarcely the sort of thing which a man could foresee. Of course a metaphysician can account for it, and, like Coleridge, assure you that if he had not observed it, he could have predicted it in a moment; but, nevertheless, it is too refined a conclusion to be made out from known premises by common reasoning. Doubtless there is some reason why negroes have woolly hair (and if you look into a philosophical treatise, you will find that the author could have made out that it would be so, if he had not, by a mysterious misfortune, known from infancy that it was the fact),-still one could never have supposed it oneself. And in the same manner, though the profounder critics may explain in a satisfactory and refined manner, how the confused and undulating style of narration is peculiarly incident to the mere multitude, yet it is most likely that Shakespeare derived his acquaintance with it from the fact, from actual hearing, and not from what may be the surer, but is the slower, process of metaphysical deduction. The best passage to illustrate this is that in which the nurse gives a statement of Juliet's age ; but it will not exactly suit our pages. The following of Mrs. Quickly will suffice:-

Host. Tilly-fally, Sir John, ne'er tell me: your ancient swaggerer comes not in my doors. I was before Master Tisick, the debuty, t ' other day; and, as he said to me, 'twas no longer ago than Wednesday last, ' I' good faith, neighbour Quickly,' says he; Master Dumbe, our minister, was by then; 'neighbour Quickly,' says he, 'receive those that are civil; for,' said he, 'you are in an ill name': now a' said so, I can tell whereupon; ' for,' says he, ' you are an honest woman, and well thought on; therefore take heed what guests you receive: receive,' says he, 'no swaggering companions.' There comes none here: you would bless you to hear what he said: no, I'll no swaggerers.*

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Now, it is quite impossible that this, any more than the political reasoning on the parentage of Cade, which was cited before, should have been written by one not habitually and sympathisingly conversant with the talk of the illogical classes. Shakespeare felt, if we may say so, the force of the bad reasoning. He did not, like a sharp logician, angrily detect a flaw, and set it down as a fallacy of reference or a fallacy of amphibology. This is not the English way, though Dr. Whately's logic has been published so long (and, as he says himself, must now be deemed to be irrefutable, since no one has ever offered any refutation of it). Yet still people in this country do not like to be committed to distinct premises. They like a Chancellor of the Exchequer to say: "It has during very many years been maintained by the honourable member for Montrose that two and two make four, and I am free to say, that I think there is a great deal to be said in favour of that opinion ; but, without committing her Majesty's Government to that proposition as an abstract sentiment, I will go so far as to assume two and two are not sufficient to make five, which with the permission of the House, will be a sufficient basis for all the operations which I propose to enter upon during the present year." We have no, doubt Shakespeare reasoned in that way himself. Like any other Englishman, when he had a clear course before him, he rather liked to shuffle over little hitches in the argument, and on that account he had a great sympathy with those who did so too. He would never have interrupted Mrs. Quickly; he saw that her mind was going to and fro over the subject; he saw that it was coming right, and this was enough for him, and will be also enough of this topic for our readers.

We think we have proved that Shakespeare had an enormous specific acquaintance with the common people; that this can only be obtained by sympathy. It likewise has a further condition.

In spiritedness, the style of Shakespeare is very like to that of Scott. The description of a charge of cavalry in

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Scott reads, as was said before, as if it was written on horseback. A play by Shakespeare reads as if it were written in a playhouse. The great critics assure you that a theatrical audience must be kept awake, but Shakespeare knew this of his own knowledge. When you read him, you feel a sensation of motions, a conviction that there is something " up," a notion that not only is something being talked about, but also that something is being done. We do not imagine that Shakespeare owed this quality to his being a player, but rather that he becatne a player because he possessed this quality of mind. For after, and notwithstanding, everything which has been, or may be, said against the theatrical profession, it certainly does require from those who pursue it a certain quickness and liveliness of mind. Mimics are commonly an elastic sort of persons, and it takes a little levity of disposition to enact even the "heavy fathers." If a boy joins a company of strolling players, you may be sure that he is not a "good boy"; he may be a trifle foolish, or a thought romantic, but certainly he is not slow. And this was in truth the case with Shakespeare. They say, too, that in the beginning he was a first-rate link-boy; and the tradition is affecting, though we fear it is not quite certain. Anyhow, you feel about Shakespeare that he could have been a link-boy. In the same way you feel he may have been a player. You are sure at once that he could not have followed any sedentary kind of life. But wheresoever there was anything acted in earnest or in jest, by way of mock representation or by way of serious reality, there he found matter for his mind. If anybody could have any doubt about the liveliness of Shakespeare, let them consider the character of Falstaff. When a man has created that without a capacity for laughter, then a blind man may succeed in describing colours. Intense animal spirits are the single sentiment (if they be a sentiment) of the entire character. If most men were to save up all the gaiety of their whole lives, it would come about to the gaiety of one speech in Falstaff. A
morose man might have amassed many jokes, might have observed many details of jovial society, might have conceived a Sir John, marked by rotundity of body, but could hardly have imagined what we call his rotundity of mind. We mean that the animal spirits of Falstaff give him an easy, vague, diffusive sagacity which is peculiar to him. A morose man, Iago, for example, may know anything, and is apt to know a good deal; but what he knows is generally all in corners. He knows number 1 , number 2 . number 3 , and so on, but there is not anything continuous, or smooth, or fluent in his knowledge. Persons conversant with the works of Hazlitt will know in a minute what we mean. Everything which he observed he seemed to observe from a certain soreness of mind; he looked at people because they offended him; he had the same vivid notion of them that a man has of objects which grate on a wound in his body. But there is nothing at all of this in Falstaff; on the contrary, everything pleases him, and everything is food for a joke. Cheerfulness and prosperity give an easy abounding sagacity of mind which nothing else does give. Prosperous people bound easily over all the surface of things which their lives present to them; very likely they keep to the surface; there are things beneath or above to which they may not penetrate or attain, but what is on any part of the surface, that they know well. "Lift not the painted veil which those who live call life,"* and they do not lift it. What is sublime or awful above, what is " sightless and drear" $\dagger$ be-neath,-these they may not dream of. Nor is any one piece or corner of life so well impressed on them as on minds less happily constituted. It is only people who have had a tooth out, that really know the dentist's wait-ing-room. Yet such people, for the time at least, know nothing but that and their tooth. The easy and sympathising friend who accompanies them knows everything; hints gently at the contents of the Times, and would cheer you with Lord Palmerston's replies. So, on

[^12]$\dagger$ Ibid.

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a greater scale, the man of painful experience knows but too well what has hurt him, and where and why; but the happy have a vague and rounded view of the round world, and such was the knowledge of Falstaff.

It is to be observed that these high spirits are not a mere excrescence or superficial point in an experiencing nature; on the contrary, they seem to be essential, if not to its idea or existence, at least to.its exercise and employment. How are you to know people without talking to them, but how are you to talk to them without tiring yourself? A common man is exhausted in half an hour; Scott or Shakespeare could have gone on for a whole day. This is, perhaps, peculiarly necessary for a painter of English life. The basis of our national character seems to be a certain energetic humour, which may be found in full vigour in old Chaucer's time, and in great perfection in at least one of the popular writers of this age, and which is, perlaaps, most easily described by the name of our greatest painter-Hogarth. It is amusing to see how entirely the efforts of critics and artists fail to naturalise in England any other sort of painting. Their efforts are fruitless; for the people painted are not English people: they may be Italians, or Greeks, or Jews, but it is quite certain that they are foreigners. We should not fancy that modern art ought to resemble the medirval. So long as artists attempt the same class of paintings as Raphael, they will not only be inferior to Raphael, but they will never please, as they might please, the English people. What we want is what Hogarth gave us-a renresentation of ourselves. It may be that we are wrong, that we ought to prefer something of the old world, some scene in Rome or Athens, some tale from Carmel or Jernsalem ; but, after all, we do not. These places are, we think, abroad, and had their greatness in former times; we wish a copy of what now exists, and of what we have seen. London we know, and Manchester we know, but where are all these? It is the same with literature, Milton excepted, and even Milton can hardly be called a pop-

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ular writer; all great English writers describe English people, and in describing them, they give, as they must give, a large comic element; and, speaking generally, this is scarcely possible, except in the case of cheerful and easy-living men. There is, no doubt, a biting satire, like that of Swift, which has for its essence misanthropy. There is the mockery of Voltaire, which is based on intellectual contempt; but this is not our English humour-it is not that of Shakespeare and Falstaff ; ours is the humour of a man who laughs when he speaks, of flowing enjoyment, of an experiencing nature.

Yet it would be a great error if we gave anything like an exclusive prominence to this aspect of Shakespeare. Thus he appeared to those around him-in some degree they knew that he was a cheerful, and humorous, and happy man; but of his higher gift they knew less than we. A great painter of men must (as has been said) have a faculty of conversing, but he must also have a capacity for solitude. There is much of mankind that a man can only learn for himself. Behind every man's external life, which he leads in company, there is another which he leads alone, and which he carries with him apart. We see but one aspect of our neighbour, as we see but one side of the moon ; in either case there is also a dark half, which is unknown to uts. We all come down to dinner, but each has a room to himself. And if we would study the internal lives of others, it seems essential that we should begin with our own. If we study this our datum, if we attain to see and feel how this influences and evolves itself in our social and (so to say) public life, then it is possible that we may find in the lives of others the same or analogous features; and if we do not, then at least we may suspect that those who want them are deficient likewise in the secret agencies which we feel produce them in ourselves. The metaphysicians assert that people originally picked up the idea of the existence of other people in this way. It is orthodox doctrine that a baby says: "I have a mouth, mamma has a mouth: therefore I'm the

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same species as mamma. I have a nose, papa has a nose: therefore papa is the same genus as me." But whether or not this ingenious idea really does or does not represent the actual process by which we originally obtain an acquaintance with the existence of minds analogous to our own, it gives unquestionably the process by which we obtain our notion of that part of those minds which they never exhibit consciously to others, and which only becomes predominant in secrecy and solitude and to themselves. Now, that Shakespeare has this insight into the musing life of man, as well as into his social life, is easy to prove; take, for instance, the following passages:-
"This battle fares like to the morning's war, When dying clouds contend with growing light, What time the shepherd, blowing of his nails, Can neither call it perfect day nor night. Now sways it this way, like a mighty sea Forced by the tide to combat with the wind; Now sways it that way, like the self-same sea Forced to retire by fury of the wind: Sometime the flood prevails; and then the wind; Now one the better, then another best; Both tugging to be victors, breast to breast, Yet neither conqueror nor conquered: So is the equal poise of this fell war. Here on this molehill will I sit me down. To whom God will, there be the victory! For Margaret my queen, and Clifford too, Have chid me from the battle; swearing both They prosper best of all when I am thence. Would I were dead! if God's good will were so; For what is in this world but grief and woe? O God! methinks it were a happy life, To be no better than a homely swain; To sit upon a hill, as I do now, To carve out dials quaintly, point by point, Thereby to see the minutes how they run, How many make the hour full complete; How many hours bring about the day; How many days will finish up the year;

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How many years a mortal man may live.
When this is known, then to divide the times:
So many hours must I tend my flock;
So many hours must I take my rest;
So many hours must I contemplate;
So many hours must I sport myself;
So many days my ewes have been with young;
So many weeks ere the poor fools will ean;
So many years ere I shall shear the fleece:
So minutes, hours, days, months, and years,
Pass'd over to the end they were created,
Would bring white hairs unto a quiet grave.
Ah, what a life were this! how sweet! how lovely!
Gives not the hawthorn-bush a sweeter shade
To shepherds looking on their silly sheep,
Than doth a rich embroider'd canopy
To kings that fear their subjects' treachery?
O, yes, it doth; a thousand-fold it doth.
And to conclude, the shepherd's homely curds, His cold thin drink out of his leather bottle,
His wonted sleep under a fresh tree's shade,
All which secure and sweetly he enjoys,
Is far beyond a prince's delicates,
His viands sparkling in a golden cup,
His body couched in a curious bed,
When care, mistrust, and treason waits on him.'"*
" A fool, a fool! I met a fool i" the forest,
A motley fool; a miserable world!
As I do live by food, I met a fool;
Who laid him down and bask'd him in the sun, And rail'd on Lady Fortune in good terms,
In good set terms, and yet a motley fool.
'Good-morrow, fool,' quoth I. 'No, sir,' quoth he,
'Call me not fool till heaven hath sent me fortune':
And then he drew a dial from his poke,
And, looking on it with lack-lustre eye,
Says very wisely, 'It is ten o'clock:
Thus we may see,' quoth he, 'how the world wags:
'Tis but an hour ago since it was nine;
And after one hour more, 'twill be eleven;
*3 King Henry VI., II. v.

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And so, from hour to hour, we ripe and ripe,
And then, from hour to hour, we rot and rot;
And thereby hangs a tale.' When I did hear
The motley fool thus moral on the time,
My lungs began to crow like chanticleer,
That fools should be so deep-contemplative;
And I did laugh sans intermission
An hour by his dial."*
No slight versatility of mind and pliancy of fancy could pass at will from scenes such as these to the ward of Eastcheap and the society which heard the chimes at midnight. One of the reasons of the rarity of great imaginative works is that in very few cases is this capacity for musing solitude combined with that of observing mankind. A certain constitutional though latent melancholy is essential to such a 11ature. This is the exceptional characteristic in Shakespeare. All through his works you feel you are reading the popular author, the successful man; but through them all there is a certain tinge of musing sadness pervading, and, as it were, softening their gaiety. Not a trace can be found of "eating cares" or narrow and mind-contracting toil, but everywhere there is, in addition to shrewd sagacity and buoyant wisdom, a refining element of chastening sensibility, which prevents sagacity from being rough, and shrewdness from becoming cold. He had an eye for either sort of life:-
" Why, let the stricken deer go weep, The hart ungalled play; For some must watch, and some must sleep: Thus runs the world away." $\dagger$

In another point also Shakespeare, as he was, must be carefully contrasted with the estimate that would be formed of him from such delineations as that of Falstaff, and that was doubtless frequently made by casual, though only by casual, frequenters of the Mermaid. It has been said that the mind of Shakespeare contained within it the

[^13]† Hamlet, III. II.
mind of Scott ; it remains to be observed that it contained also the mind of Keats. For, beside the delineation of human life, and beside also the delineation of Nature, there remains also for the poet a third subject-the delineation of fancies. Of course these, be they what they may, are like to, and were originally borrowed from, either man or Nature-from one or from both together. We know but two things in the simple way of direct experience, and whatever else we know must be in some mode or manner compacted out of them. Yet "books are a substantial world, both pure and good," and so are fancies too. In all countries, men have devised to themselves a whole series of half-divine creations-mythologies Greek and Roman, fairies, angels, beings who may be, for aught we know, but with whom, in the meantime, we can attain to no conversation. The most known of these mythologies are the Greek, and what is, we suppose, the second epoch of the Gothic, the fairies ; and it so happens that Shakespeare has dealt with them both, and in a remarkable manner. We are not, indeed, of those critics who profess simple and unqualified admiration for the poem of Venus and Adonis. It seems intrinsically, as we know it from external testimony to have been, a juvenile production, written when Shakespeare's nature might be well expected to be crude and unripened. Power is shown, and power of a remarkable kind; but it is not displayed in a manner that will please or does please the mass of men. In spite of the name of its author, the poem has never been popular-and surely this is sufficient. Nevertheless, it is remarkable as a literary exercise, and as a treatment of a singular, though unpleasant subject. The fanciful class of poems differ from others in being laid, so far as their scene goes, in a perfectly unseen world. The type of such productions is Keats's Endymion. We mean that it is the type, not as giving the abstract perfection of this sort of art, but because it shows and embodies both its excellences and defects in a very marked and prominent manner. In that poem there are no pas-

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sions and no actions, there is no art and no life; but there is beauty, and that is meant to be enough, and to a reader of one and twenty it is enough and more. What are exploits or speeches? what is Cæsar or Coriolanus? what is a tragedy like Lear, or a real view of human life in any kind whatever, to people who do not know and do not care what human life is? In early youth it is, perhaps, not true that the passions, taken generally, are particularly violent, or that the imagination is in any remarkable degree powerful; but it is certain that the fancy (which though it be, in the last resort, but a weak stroke of that same faculty, which, when it strikes hard, we call imagination, may yet for this purpose be looked on as distinct) is particularly wakeful, and that the gentler species of passions are more absurd than they are afterwards. And the literature of this period of human life iuns naturally away from the real world; away from the less ideal portion of it, from stocks and stones, and aunts and uncles, and rests on mere half-embodied sentiments, which in the hands of great poets assume a kind of semipersonality, and are, to the distinction between things and persons, " as moonlight unto sunlight, and as water unto wine."* The Sonnets of Shakespeare belong exactly to the same school of poetry. They are not the sort of verses to take any particular hold upon the mind permanently and for ever, but at a certain period they take too much. For a young man to read in the spring of the year among green fields and in gentle air, they are the ideal. As First of April poetry they are perfect.

The Midsummer-Night's Dream is of another order. If the question were to be decided by Venus and Adomis, in spite of the unmeasured panegyrics of many writers, we should be obliged in equity to hold, that as a poet of mere fancy Shakespeare was much inferior to the late Mr . Keats and even to meaner men. Moreover, we should have been prepared with some refined reasonings to show that it was unlikely that a poet with so much
hold on reality, in life and Nature, both in solitude and in society, should have also a similar command over unreality: should possess a command not only of flesh and blood, but of the imaginary entities which the self-inworking fancy brings forth-impalpable conceptions of mere mind: quadam simulacra miris pallentia modis,* thin ideas, which come we know not whence, and are given us we know not why. But, unfortunately for this ingenious, if not profound suggestion, Shakespeare, in fact, possessed the very faculty which it tends to prove that he would not possess. He could paint Poins and Falstaff, but he excelled also in fairy legends. He had such

> "Seething brains,
> Such shaping fantasies, that apprehend More than cool reason ever comprehends." $\dagger$

As, for example, the idea of Puck, or Queen Mab, of Ariel, or such a passage as the following:-

Puck. How now, spirit! whither wander you?
Fai. Over hill, over dale,
Thorough bush, thorough brier,
Over park, over pale,
Thorough flood, thorough fire, I do wander every wheré,
Swifter than the moon's sphere;
And I serve the fairy queen, To dew her orbs upon the green.
The cowslips tall her pensioners be:
In their gold coats spots you see;
Those be rubies, fairy favours,
In those freckles live their savours:
I must go seek some dew-drops here, And hang a pearl in every cowslip's ear. Farewell, thou lob of spirits; I 'll be gone: Our queen and all her elves come here anon.
Puck. The king doth keep his revels here to-night:
Take heed the queen come not within his sight;
For Oberon is passing fell and wrath,

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Because that she as her attendant hath A lovely boy, stolen from an Indian king; She never had so sweet a changeling: And jealous Oberon would have the child Knight of his train, to trace the forests wild;
But she perforce withholds the loved boy, Crowns him with flowers, and makes him all her joy.
And now they never meet in grove or green, By fountain clear, or spangled starlight sheen, But they do square, that all their elves for fear Creep into acorn-cups and hide them there. Fai. Either I mistake your shape and making quite, Or else you are that shrewd and knavish sprite
Call'd Robin Goodfellow : are not you he
That frights the maidens of the villagery;
Skim milk, and sometimes labour in the quern, And bootless make the breathless housewife churn;
And sometime make the drink to bear no barm; Mislead night-wanderers, laughing at their harm?
Those that Hobgoblin call you, and sweet Puck,
You do their work, and they shall have good luck:
Are not you he?
Puck. Thou speak'st aright;
I am that merry wanderer of the night.
I jest to Oberon, and make him smile,
When I a fat and bean-fed horse beguile,
Neighing in likeness of a filly foal:
And sometime lurk I in a gossip's bowl, In very likeness of a roasted crab;
And when she drinks, against her lips I bob
And on her withered dewlap pour the ale.
The wisest aunt, telling the saddest tale,
Sometime for three-foot stool mistaketh me;
Then slip I from beneath, down topples she,
And tailor cries, and falls into a cough;
And then the whole quire hold their hips and latgh;
And waxen in their mirth, and neeze, and swear
A merrier hour was never wasted there.
But, room, fairy? here comes Oberon.
Fai. And here my mistress. Would that he were gone!*

* A Midsummer-Night's Dream, II. i.


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Probably he believed in these things. Why not? Everybody else believed in them then. They suit our climate. As the Greek mythology suits the keen Attic sky, the fairies, indistinct and half-defined, suit a land of wild mists and gentle airs. They confuse the "maidens of the villagery "; they are the paganism of the South of England.

Can it be made out what were Shakespeare's political views? We think it certainly can, and that without difficulty. From the English historical plays, it distinctly appears that he accepted, like everybody then, the Constitution of his country. His lot was not cast in an age of political controversy, nor of reform. What was, was from of old. The Wars of the Roses had made it very evident how much room there was for the evils incident to an hereditary monarchy, for instance, those of a controverted succession, and the evils incident to an aristocracy, as want of public spirit and audacious selfishness, to arise and continue within the realm of England. Yet they had not repelled, and had barely disconcerted, our conservative ancestors. They had not become Jacobins; they did not concur-and history, except in Shakespeare, hardly does justice to them-in Jack Cade's notion that the laws should come out of his mouth, or that the commonwealth was to be reformed by interlocutors in this scene.
Bevis. I tell thee, Jack Cade the clothier means to dress the commonwealth, and turn it, and set a new nap upon it.
Holl. So he had need. for 'tis threadbare. Well, I say it was never merry world in England since gentlemen came up.
Bevis. O miserable age! Virtue is not regarded in handi-crafts-men.
Holl. The nobility think scorn to go in leather aprorts.
Bevis. Nay, more, the king's council are no good workmen.
Holl. True; and yet it is said, labour in thy vocation; which is as much to say as, let the magistrates be labouring men; and therefore should we be magistrates.
Bevis. Thou hast hit it; for there's no better sign of a brave mind than a hard hand.
Holl. I see them! I see them!*

* 2 King Henry VI., IV. II.


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The English people did see them, and know them, and therefore have rejected them. An audience which, bon $\hat{a}$ fide, entered into the merit of this scene, would never believe in everybody's suffrage. They would know that there is such a thing as nonsense, and when a man has once attained to that deep conception, you may be sure of him ever after. And though it would be absurd to say that Shakespeare originated this idea, or that the disbelief in simple democracy is owing to his teaching or suggestions, yet it may, nevertheless, be truly said, that he shared in the peculiar knowledge of men-and also possessed the peculiar constitution of mind-which engender this effect. The author of Coriolanus never believed in a mob, and did something towards preventing anybody else from doing so. But this political idea was not exactly the strongest in Shakespeare's mind. We think he had two other stronger, or as strong. First, the feeling of loyalty to the ancient polity of this countrynot because it was good, but because it existed. In his time, people no more thought of the origin of the monarchy than they did of the origin of the Mendip Hills. The one had always been there, and so had the other. God (such was the common notion) had made both, and one as much as the other. Everywhere, in that age, the common modes of political speech assumed the existence of certain utterly national institutions, and would have been worthless and nonsensical except on that assumption. This national habit appears as it ought to appear in our national dramatist. A great divine tells us that the Thirty-nine Articles are "forms of thought"; inevitable conditions of the religious understanding: in politics, " kings, lords, and commons" are, no doubt, "forms of thought," to the great majority of Englishmen ; in these they live, and beyond these they never move. You can't reason on the removal (such is the notion) of the English Channel, nor St. George's Channel, nor can you of the English Constitution, in like manner. It is to most of us, and to the happiest of us, a thing immutable, and

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such, no doubt, it was to Shakespeare, which, if any one would have proved, let him refer at random to any page of the historical English plays.

The second peculiar tenet which we ascribe to his political creed, is a disbelief in the middle classes. We fear he had no opinion of traders. In this age, we know, it is held that the keeping of a shop is equivalent to a political education. Occasionally, in country villages, where the trader sells everything, he is thought to know nothing, and has no vote; but in a town where he is a householder (as, indeed, he is in the country), and sells only one thing-there we assume that he knows everything. And this assumption is, in the opinion of some observers, confirmed by the fact. Sir Walter Scott used to relate, that when, after a trip to London, he returned to Tweedside, he always found the people in that district knew more of politics than the Cabinet. And so it is with the mercantile community in modern times. If you are a Chancellor of the Exchequer, it is possible that you may be acquainterl with finance; but if you sell figs it is certain that you will. Now we nowhere find this laid down in Shakespeare. On the contrary, you will generally find that when a "citizen" is mentioned, he generally does or says something absurd. Shakespeare had a clear perception that it is possible to bribe a class as well as an individual, and that personal obscurity is but an insecure guarantee for political disinterestedness.

> " Moreover, he hath left you all his walks, His private arbours and new-planted orchards, On this side Tiber; he hath left them you, And to your heirs for ever; common pleastres, To walk abroad and recreate yourselves. Here was a Cæsar! when comes such another? "*

He everywhere speaks in praise of a tempered and ordered and qualified polity, in which the pecuniary classes have a certain influence, but no more, and shows in every

* Julius Cæsar, III. ii.


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page a keen sensibility to the large views and high-souled energies, the gentle refinements and disinterested desires, in which those classes are likely to be especially deficient. He is particularly the poet of personal nobility, though, throughout his writings, there is a sense of freedom, just as Milton is the poet of freedom, though with an underlying reference to personal nobility; indeed, we might well expect our two poets to combine the appreciation of a rude and generous liberty with that of a delicate and refined nobleness, since it is the union of these two elements that characterises our society and their experience.

There are two things-good-tempered sense and illtempered sense. In our remarks on the character of Falstaff, we hope we have made it very clear that Shakespeare had the former; we think it nearly as certain that he possessed the latter also. An instance of this might be taken from that contempt for the perspicacity of the bourgeoisie which we have just been mentioning. It is within the limits of what may be called malevolent sense, to take extreme and habitual pleasure in remarking the foolish opinions, the narrow notions, and fallacious deductions which seem to cling to the pompous and prosperous man of business. Ask him his opinion of the currency question, and he puts "bills" and "bullion" together in a sentence, and he does not seem to care what he puts between them. But a more proper instance of (what has an odd sound), the malevolence of Shakespeare is to be found in the play of Measure for Measure. We agree with Hazlitt, that this play seems to be written, perhaps more than any other, con amore, and with a relish; and this seems to be the reason why, notwithstanding the unpleasant nature of its plot, and the absence of any very attractive character, it is yet one of the plays which take hold on the mind most easily and most powerfully. Now the entire character of Angelo, which is the expressive feature of the piece, is nothing but a successful embodiment of the pleasure, the malevolent pleasure, which a warm-blooded and expansive man takes in watching the

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rare, the dangerous and inanimate excesses of the constrained and cold-blooded. One seems to see Shakespeare, with his bright eyes and his large lips and buoyant face, watching with a pleasant excitement the excesses of his thin-lipped and calculating creation, as though they were the excesses of a real person. It is the complete picture of a natural hypocrite, who does not consciously disguise strong impulses, but whose very passions seenr of their own accord to have disguised themselves and retreated into the recesses of the character, yet only to recur even more dangerously when their proper period is expired, when the will is cheated into security by their absence, and the world (and, it may be, the " judicious person" himself) is impressed with a sure reliance in his chilling and remarkable rectitude.

It has, we believe, been doubted whether Shakespeare was a man much conversant with the intimate society of women. Of course no one denies that he possessed a great knowledge of them-a capital acquaintance with their excellences, faults, and foibles; but it has been thought that this was the result rather of imagination than of society, of creative fancy rather than of perceptive experience. Now that Shakespeare possessed, among other singular qualities, a remarkable imaginative knowledge of women, is quite certain, for he was acquainted with the soliloquies of women. A woman we suppose, like a man, must be alone, in order to speak a soliloquy. After the greatest possible intimacy and experience, it must still be imagination, or fancy at least, which tells any man what a woman thinks of herself and to herself. There will still -get as near the limits of confidence or observation as you can-be a space which must be filled up from other means. Men can only divine the truth-reserve, indeed, is a part of its charm. Seeing, therefore, that Shakespeare had done what necessarily and certainly must be done without experience, we were in some doubt whether he might not have dispensed with it altogether. A grave reviewer cannot know these things. We thought indeed

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of reasoning that since the delineations of women in Shakespeare were admitted to be first-rate, it should fol-low,-at least there was a fair presumption,- that no means or aid had been wanting to their production, and that consequently we ought, in the absence of distinct evidence, to assume that personal intimacy as well as solitary imagination had been concerned in their production. And we meant to cite the "questions about Octavia," which Lord Byron, who thought he had the means of knowing, declared to be "women all over."

But all doubt was removed and all conjecture set to rest by the coming in of an ably-dressed friend from the external world, who mentioned that the language of Shakespeare's women was essentially female language; that there were certain points and peculiarities in the English of cultivated English women, which made it a language of itself, which must be heard familiarly in order to be known. And he added, " Except a greater use of words of Latin derivation, as was natural in an age when ladies received a learned education, a few words not now proper, a few conceits that were the fashion of the time, and there is the very same English in the women's speeches in Shakespeare." He quoted-
"Think not I love him, though I ask for him;
'Tis but a peevish boy; yet he talks well; But what care I for words? yet words do well When he that speaks them pleases those that hear. It is a pretty youth : not very pretty:
But, sure, he's proud, and yet his pride becomes him:
He'll make a proper man: the best thing in him
Is his complexion; and faster than his tongue
Did make offence his eye did heal it up.
He is not very tall ; yet for his years he's tall ;
His leg is but so so; and yet 'tis well:
There was a pretty redness in his lip,
A little riper and more lusty red
Than that mix'd in his cheek; 'twas just the difference
Betwixt the constant red and mingled damask.
There be some women, Silvius, had they mark'd him

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In parcels as I did, would have gone near
To fall in love with him: but, for my part, I love him not nor hate him not; and yet
I have more cause to hate him than to love him:
For what had he to do to chide at me?
He said mine eyes were black and my hair black;
And, now I am remember'd, scorn'd at me:
I marvel why I answer'd not again :
But that's all one;"*
and the passage of Perdita's cited before about the daffodils that-

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { The winds of March with beauty; violets dim, } \\
& \text { But sweeter than the lids of Juno's eyes } \\
& \text { Or Cytherea's breath;" }
\end{aligned}
$$

and said that these were conclusive. But we have not, ourselves, heard young ladies converse in that manner.

Perhaps it is in his power of delineating women, that Shakespeare contrasts most strikingly with the greatest. master of the art of dialogue in antiquity-we mean Plato. It will, no doubt, be said that the delineation of women did not fall within Plato's plan; that men's life was in that age so separate and predominant that it could be delineated by itself and apart; and no doubt these remarks are very true. But what led Plato to form that plan? What led him to select that peculiar argumentative aspect of life, in which the masculine element is in so high a degree superior? We believe that he did it because he felt that he could paint that kind of scene much better than he could paint any other. If a person will consider the sort of conversation that was held in the cool summer morning, when Socrates was knocked up early to talk definitions and philosophy with Protagoras, he will feel, not only that women would fancy such dialogues to be certainly stupid, and very possibly to be without meaning, but also that the side of character which is there pre-

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sented is one from which not only the feminine but even the epicene element is nearly, if not perfectly, excluded. It is the intellect surveying and delineating intellectual characteristics. We have a dialogue of thinking faculties; the character of every man is delineated by showing us, not his mode of action or feeling, but his mode of thinking, alone and by itself. The pure mind, purged of all passion and affection, strives to view and describe others in like manner; and the singularity is, that the likenesses so taken are so good,- that the accurate copying of the merely intellectual effects and indications of character gives so true and so firm an impression of the whole character,--that a daguerreotype of the mind should almost seem to be a delineation of the life. But though in the hand of a consummate artist, such a way of representation may in some sense succeed in the case of men, it would certainly seem sure to fail in the case of women. The mere intellect of a woman is a mere nothing. It originates nothing, it transmits nothing, it retains nothing; it has little life of its own, and therefore it can hardly be expected to attain any vigour. Of the lofty Platonic world of the ideas, which the soul in the old doctrine was to arrive at by pure and continuous reasoning, women were never expected to know anything. Plato (though Mr. Grote denies that he was a practical man) was much too practical for that; he reserved his teaching for people whose belief was regulated and induced in some measure by abstract investigations; who had an interest in the pure and (as it were) geometrical truth itself; who had an intellectual character (apart from and accessory to their other character) capable of being viewed as a large and substantial existence, Shakespeare's being, like a woman's, worked as a whole. He was capable of intellectual abstractedness, but commonly he was touched with the sense of earth. One thinks of him as firmly set on our coarse world of common clay, but from it he could paint the moving essence of thoughtful feel-ing-which is the best refinement of the best women.

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Imogen or Juliet would have thought little of the conversation of Gorgias.

On few subjects has more nonsense been written than on the learning of Shakespeare. In former times, the established tenet was, that he was acquainted with the entire range of the Greek and Latin classics, and familiarly resorted to Sophocles and Eschylus as guides and models. This creed reposed not so much on any painful or elaborate criticism of Shakespeare's plays, as on one of the a priori assumptions permitted to the indolence of the wise old world. It was then considered clear, by a!1 critics, that no one could write good English who could not also write bad Latin. Questioning scepticism has rejected this axiom, and refuted with contemptuous facility the slight attempt which had been made to verify this case of it from the evidence of the plays themselves. But the new school, not content with showing that Shakespeare was no formed or elaborate scholar, propounded the idea that he was quite ignorant, just as Mr. Croker "demonstrates" that Napoleon Bonaparte could scarcely write or read. The answer is, that Shakespeare wrote his plays, and that those plays show not only a very powerful, but also a very cultivated mind. A hard student Shakespeare was not, yet he was a happy and pleased reader of interesting books. He was a natural reader: when a book was dull he put it down, when it looked fascinating he took it up, and the consequence is, that he remembered and mastered what he read. Lively books, read with lively interest, leave strong and living recollections; the instructors, no doubt, say that they ought not to do so, and inculcate the necessity of dry reading. Yet the good sense of a busy public has practically discovered that what is read easily is recollected easily, and what is read with difficulty is remembered with more. It is certain that Shakespeare read the novels of his time, for he has founded on them the stories of his plays; he read Plutarch, for his words still live in the dialogue of the "proud Roman" plays: aind it is remarkable that Mon-

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taigne is the only philosopher that Shakespeare can be proved to have read, because he deals more than any other philosopher with the first impressions of things which exist. On the other hand, it may be doubted if Shakespeare would have perused his commentators. Certainly, he would have never read a page of this review, and we go so far as to doubt whether he would have been pleased with the admirable discourses of M. Guizot, which we ourselves, though ardent admirers of his style and ideas, still find it a little difficult to read;-and what would he have thought of the following speculations of an anonymous individual, whose notes have been recently published in a fine octavo by Mr. Collier, and, according to the periodical essayists, "contribute valuable suggestions to the illustration of the immortal bard "?

## " The Two Gentlemen of Verona

## "Act I. Scene I.

"P. 92. The reading of the subsequent line has hitherto been ''Tis true; for you are over boots in love';
but the manuscript corrector of the Folio, 1632, has changed it to ' 'Tis true; but you are over boots in love,'
which seems more consistent with the course of the dialogue; for Proteus, remarking that Leander had been ' more than over shoes in love,' with Hero. Valentine answers, that Proteus was even more deeply in love than Leander. Proteus observes of the fable of Hero and Leander-

- That's a deep story of a deeper love, For he was more than over shoes in love.'
Valentine retorts-
' 'Tis true; but you are over boots in love.'
For instead of but was perhaps caught by the compositor from the preceding line."

It is difficult to fancy Shakespeare perusing a volume of such annotations, though we allow that we admire

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them ourselves. As to the controversy on his school learning, we have only to say, that though the alleged imitations of the Greek tragedians are mere nonsense, yet there is clear evidence that Shakespeare received the ordinary grammar-school education of his time, and that he had derived from the pain and suffering of several years, not exactly an acquaintance with Greek or Latin, but, like Eton boys, a firm conviction that there are such languages.

Another controversy has been raised as to whether Shakespeare was religious. In the old editions it is commonly enough laid down that, when writing his plays, he had no desire to fill the Globe Theatre, but that his intentions were of the following description. "In this play, Cymbeline, Shakespeare has strongly depicted the frailties of our nature, and the effect of vicious passions on the human mind. In the fate of the Queen we behold the adept in perfidy justly sacrificed by the arts she had, with unnatural ambition, prepared for others; and in reviewing her death and that of Cloten, we may easily call to mind the words of Scripture," etc. And of King Lear it is observed with great confidence, that Shakespeare, " no doubt, intended to mark particularly the afflicting character of children's ingratitude to their parents, and the conduct of Goneril and Regan to each other; especially in the former's poisoning the latter, and laying hands on herself, we are taught that those who want gratitude towards their parents (who gave them their being, fed them, nurtured them to man's estate) will not scruple to commit more barbarous crimes, and easily to forget that, by destroying their body, they destroy their soul also." And Dr. Ulrici, a very learned and illegible writer, has discovered that in every one of his plays Shakespeare had in view the inculcation of the peculiar sentiments and doctrines of the Christian religion, and considers the Midsummer-Night's Dream to be a specimen of the lay or amateur sermon. This is what Dr. Ulrici thinks of Shakespeare; but what would Shakespeare have thought of Dr. Ulrici? We believe that

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"Via, goodman Dull," is nearly the remark which the learned professor would have received from the poet to whom his very careful treatise is devoted. And yet, without prying into the Teutonic mysteries, a gentleman of missionary aptitudes might be tempted to remark that in many points Shakespeare is qualified to administer a rebuke to people of the prevalent religion. Meeting a certain religionist is like striking the corner of a wall. He is possessed of a firm and rigid persuasion that you must leave off this and that, stop, cry, be anxious, be advised, and, above all things, refrain from doing what you like, for nothing is so bad for any one as that. And in quite another quarter of the religious hemisphere, we occasionally encounter gentlemen who have most likely studied at the feet of Dr. Ulrici, or at least of an equivalent Gamaliel, and who, when we, or such as we, speaking the language of mortality, remark of a pleasing friend: "Nice fellow, so and so! Good fellow as ever lived!" reply sternly, upon an unsuspecting reviewer, with"Sir, is he an earnest man?" To which, in some cases, we are unable to return a sufficient answer. Yet Shakespeare, differing, in that respect at least, from the disciples of Carlyle, had, we suspect, an objection to grim people, and we fear would have liked the society of Mercutio better than that of a dreary divine, and preferred Ophelia or "that Juliet" to a female philanthropist of sinewy aspect. And, seriously, if this world is not all evil, he who has understood and painted it best must probably have some good. If the underlying and almighty essence of this world be good, then it is likely that the writer who most deeply approached to that essence will be himself good. There is a religion of week-days as well as of Sundays, of "cakes and ale "* as well as of pews and altar cloths. This England lay before Shakespeare as it lies before us all, with its green fields, and its long hedgerows, and its many trees, and its great towns, and its endless hamlets, and its motley society, and

[^16]its long history, and its bold exploits, and its gathering power, and he saw that they were good. To him, perhaps, more than to any one else, has it been given to see that they were a great unity, a great religious object ; that if you could only descend to the inner life, to the deep things, to the secret principles of its noble vigour, to the essence of character, to what we know of Hamlet ani seem to fancy of Ophelia, we might, so far as we are capable of so doing, understand the nature which God has made. Let us, then, think of him not as a teacher of dry dogmas, or a sayer of hard sayings, but as-

> "A priest to us all,

Of the wonder and bloom of the world "-*
a teacher of the hearts of men and women; one from whom may be learned something of that inmost principle that ever modulates-

> "With murmurs of the air, And motions of the forests and the sea, And voice of living beings, and woven hymns, Of night and day and the deep heart of man." $\dagger$

We must pause, lest our readers reject us, as the Bishop of Durham the poor curate, because he was " mystical and confused."

Yet it must be allowed that Shakespeare was worldly, and the proof of it is, that he succeeded in the world. Possibly this is the point on which we are most richly indebted to tradition. We see generally indeed in Shakespeare's works the popular author, the successful dramatist; there is a life and play in his writings rarely to be found, except in those who have had habitual good luck, and who, by the tact of experience, feel the minds of their readers at every word, as a good rider feels the mouth of his horse. But it would have been difficult quite to make out whether the profits so accruing had been profitably invested-whether the genius to create such illusions was

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accompanied with the care and judgement necessary to put out their proceeds properly in actual life. We could only have said that there was a general impression of entire calmness and equability in his principal works, rarely to be found where there is much pain, which usually makes gaps in the work and dislocates the balance of the mind. But happily here, and here almost alone, we are on sure historical ground. The reverential nature of Englishmen has carefully preserved what they thought the great excellence of their poet-that he made a fortune. It is certain that Shakespeare was proprietor of the Globe Theatre-that he made money there, and invested the same in land at Stratford-on-Avon, and probably no circumstance in his life ever gave him so much pleasure. It was a great thing that he, the son of the wool-comber, the poacher, the good-for-nothing, the vagabond (for so we fear the phrase went in Shakespeare's youth), should return upon the old scene a substantial man, a person of capital, a freeholder, a gentleman to be respected, and over whom even a burgess could not affect the least superiority. The great pleasure in life is doing what people say you cannot do. Why did Mr. Disraeli take the duties of the Exchequer with so much relish? Because people said he was a novelist, an ad captandum man, and-monstrum horrendum!-a Jew, that could not add up. No doubt it pleased his inmost soul to do the work of the redtape people better than those who could do nothing else. And so with Shakespeare: it pleased him to be respected by those whom he had respected with boyish reverence, but who had rejected the imaginative man-on their own ground and in their own subject, by the only title which they would regard-in a word, as a moneyed man. We seem to see him eyeing the burgesses with good-humoured fellowship and genial (though suppressed and halfunconscious) contempt, drawing out their old stories, and acquiescing in their foolish notions, with everything in his head and easy sayings upon his tongue,-a full mind and a deep dark eye, that played upon an easy scene-

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now in fanciful solitude, now in cheerful society; now occupied with deep thoughts, now, and equally so, with trivial recreations, forgetting the dramatist in the man of substance, and the poet in the happy companion; beloved and even respected, with a hope for every one and a smile for all.

## Self:Revelation of Shakespeare.

## Self:Revelation of Shakespeare.

## BY LESLIE STEPHEN.

I am reluctant to break the rule-or what ought to be the rule-that no one should write about Shakespeare without a special license. Heaven-born critics or thorough antiquaries alone should add to the pile under which his "honoured bones" are but too effectually hidden. I make no pretence of having discovered a new philosophical meaning in Hamlet, or of having any light to throw upon the initials "W. H." I confess too that, though I have read Shakespeare with much pleasure, I cannot say as much for most of his commentators. I have not studied them eagerly. I spent, however, some hours of a recent vacation in reading a few Shakespeare books, including Mr. Lee's already standard Life and Professor Brandes's interesting Critical Study. The contrast between the two raised an old question. Mr. Lee, like many critics of the highest authority, maintains that we can know nothing of the man. He shows that we know more than the average reader supposes of the external history of the Stratford townsman. But then he maintains the self-denying proposition that such knowledge teaches us nothing about the author of Hamlet. Professor Brandes, on the contrary, tries to show how a certain spiritual history indicated by the works may be more or less distinctly correlated with certain passages in the personal history. The process, of course, involves a good deal of conjecture. It rests entirely upon the assumption that the works, when properly interpreted, reveal character; for the facts taken by themselves are a manifestly insufficient ground for more than a few negative

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inferences. If, with Mr. Lee, we regard this first step as impossible the whole theory must collapse. Upon his showing we learn little from the works except that Shakespeare, whatever he may have been as a man, had a marvellous power of wearing different masks. There is no reason to suppose that his mirth or melancholy, his patriotism or his misanthropy, reveal his own sentiments. He could inspire his puppets with the eloquence which would bring down the house and direct money to the till of the Globe. He could drop his mask and become a commonplace man of business when he applied for a coat of arms or requested his debtors to settle their little accounts.

This raises the previous question of the possibility of the general inference from the book to the man. Now I confess that to me one main interest in reading is always the communion with the author. Paradise Lost gives me the sense of intercourse with Milton, and the Waverley Novels bring me a greeting from Scott. Every writer, I fancy, is unconsciously his own Boswell, and, however "objective" or dramatic he professes to be, really betrays his own secrets. Browning is one of the authorities against me. If Shakespeare, he says, really unlocked his heart in the Sonnets, why "the less Shakespeare he." Browning declines for his part to follow the example, and fancies that he has preserved his privacy. Yet we must, I think, agree with a critic who emphatically declares that a main characteristic of Browning's own poetry is that it brings us into contact with the real "self of the author." Self-revelation is not the less clear because involuntary or quite alien to the main purpose of a book. I may read Gibbon simply to learn facts; but I enjoy his literary merits because I recognize my friend of the autobiography who "sighed as a lover and obeyed as a son." I may study Darwin's Origin of Species to clear my views upon natural selection; but as a book it interests me even through the defects of style by the occult personal charm of the candid, sagacious, patient seeker for truth. In

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pure literature the case is, of course, plainer, and I will not count up instances because, in truth, I can hardly think of a clear exception. Whenever we know a man adequately we perceive that, though different aspects of his character may be made prominent in his life and his works, the same qualities are revealed in both, and we cannot describe the literary without indicating the personal charm.

Is Shakespeare the sole exception? There are obvious difficulties in the way of a satisfactory answer. Shakespearian criticism means too often reckless competition in hyperboles. So long as critics think it necessary to show their appreciative power by falling into hysterics, all distinctive characteristics are obliterated. When the poet is lost in such a blaze of light, we can make no inference to the man. Sometimes out of reverence for his genius he is treated like a prophet whose inspiration is proved by his commonplace character in other moments. The more colourless the man, the more impossible will be an explanation, and the greater will be the wonder. Some commentators, again, have displayed their affection by dwelling upon his proverbial " gentleness," till they make him a kind of milksop with no more of the devil in him than there was in the poet of The Christian Year. Others have been so impressed by the vigour of his fine frenzies, and the "irregularities" of which our forefathers complained, that they describe him as always on the border of insanity. Such discords between critics do not prove necessarily that the man was unknowable, but that to know him a critic must keep his head and be less anxious to exhibit his own enthusiasm and geniality than to form a tolerably sane judgement. The application of sound methods happily seems to be spreading, and may lead to more solid results.

One objection, indeed, if it could be sustained, would make the investigation impossible from the first. Shake . speare, we are reminded with undeniable truth, was a dramatist. We cannot assume that he is responsible for

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the opinions which he formulates. It is Orsino, not his creator, who holds that wives should be younger than their husbands, and Shakespeare, when speaking through his puppets, may not have been thinking of Anne Hathaway. Some of us have personal reasons for hoping that when his characters express a dislike for the lean or for the unmusical, their words do not give his deliberate judgement. If this were a fatal difficulty it would follow that no competent dramatist reveals himself in his works. Yet, as a matter of fact, I suppose that dramatists are generally quite as knowable as other authors. We learn to know Ben Jonson from his plays, almost as well as we know his namesake the great Samuel. That surely is the rule. A dramatist lets us know, and cannot help letting us know, what is his general view of his fellow creatures and of the world in which they live. It is his very function to do so, and though the indication may be indirect, it is not the less significant of the observer's own peculiarities.

But, we are told, Shakespeare does not identify himself with any of his characters. He is not himself either Falstaff or Hamlet. This too applies to most dramatists, but it certainly suggests a difficulty. The most demonstrable, though it may not be the highest merit, of Shakespeare's plays is, I suppose, the extraordinary variety of vivid and original types of character. The mind which could create a Hamlet and a Falstaff, and an Iago and a Mercutio and a Caliban, a Cleopatra and a Lady Macbeth and a Perdita, must undoubtedly have been capable of an astonishing variety of moods and sympathies. That certainly gives a presumption that the creator must have been himself too complex to be easily described. The difficulty, again, is increased by the other most familiar commonplace about Shakespeare, the entire absence of deliberate didacticism. Profound critics, it is true, have discovered certain moral lessons and philosophical theories concealed in his plays. If so, they must also admit that he concealed them so cleverly that he has had to wait for

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a profound critic to perceive them. If he really meant to enforce them upon the vulgar his attempt must be regarded as a signal failure. Anyhow, we are without one clue which is given by the didactic writer. To read Dante is to know whom he hated and why he hated them, and what, in his opinion, would be their proper place hereafter. To Shakespeare good men and bad are alike parts of the order of Nature, to be understood and interpreted with perfect impartiality. He gives a diagnosis of the case, not a judgement sentencing them to heaven or hell. His characters prosper or suffer, not in proportion to their merits, but as good and bad fortune decides or as may be most dramatically effective. It does not, indeed, follow that Shakespeare was without moral sympathies or ideals. It would be as erroneous as to infer that a physician who describes a disease accurately is indifferent to the value of health. Shakespeare no doubt held that Iago was a hateful person, and meant him to excite the aversion of his hearers. Only he did not infer, as inferior writers are apt to do, that Iago ought to be misrepresented. The devil ought to be painted just as black as he is and not a shade blacker. A perfectly impartial analysis of character is, surely, the true method of showing what is lovable in the virtuous and hateful in the vicious, and the man who gets angry with his own creatures, and denounces instead of explaining, is really perverting the true moral. When Cervantes makes us love Don Quixote in spite of the crack in his intellect and the absurdity of his career, he is really setting forth in the most effective way the beauty of the chivalrous character. That, I take it, is the true artistic method. It simply displays the facts and leaves the reader to be attracted or repelled according to his power of appreciating moral beauty or deformity. But, undoubtedly, so far as this method is characteristic of Shakespeare's work, it increases our difficulty. These are the facts, he says: make what you can of them; I do not draw the moral for you, or even deny that many very different morals may commend themselves to different

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people. No great poet can be without some implicit morality, though his morality may be sometimes very bad. He is great because he has a rich emotional nature, and great powers of observation and insight. He must have his own views of what are the really valuable elements in life, of what constitutes true happiness, and what part the deepest instincts play in the general course of affairs. We have to translate his implicit convictions into an abstract theory in order to discover his moral system. To do that in the case of Shakespeare would no doubt be a specially difficult and delicate task. He refuses to give us any direct help towards divining his sympathies. Scott, in his most Shakespearian moods, has something of the same impartiality. When he describes an interesting person, Louis XI. in Quentin Durward, or James I. in The Fortunes of Nigel, he shows a power of insight, of making wicked and weak men intelligible and human, which reminds us of Shakespeare's methods. He hated Covenanters like a good Jacobite, and yet he could describe them kindly and sympathetically. But then he has sympathies which he cannot conceal. His love of the manly, healthy type represented in the Dandie Dinmonts and their like reveals the man, and, without reading Lockhart, we can see that, unlike Shakespeare, he is clearly identifying himself with some of his characters.

My inference then would be, not that Shakespeare cannot be known, but that a knowledge of Shakespeare must be attained through a less obvious process. His character, we must suppose, was highly complex, and we are without the direct and unequivocal clues which enable us to feel ourselves personally acquainted with such men as Dante or Milton, to say nothing of Wordsworth or Byron. A distinction, however, must be made before we can estimate the weight of this difficulty. There is such a thing as knowing a man thoroughly and yet being unable to put our knowledge into definite formulæ. I may know a man's face and the sound of his voice well enough to swear to him among a thousand others, and yet I may be

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totally unable to describe him in such a way as to enable a detective to pick him out of a crowd. I can say that he is six feet high and has a red beard, but I cannot give the finer marks which distinguish tall red-bearded men from each other. So I can often divine instinctively what my friend will say and do and think on a given occasion ; and yet be quite unable to give the reasons for my expectation. If I am not a trained psychologist, I shall not have the proper terms, or shall confuse different terms ; and if I am a trained psychologist, I may too probably be misled by my own theories, and shall certainly find that all the common phrases by which we describe character are too vague and shifting to reflect the vast variety of delicate shades of emotional temperament which we can yet recognize in observation. Does not every critic of Shakespeare claim such a knowledge-vivid and yet difficult to grasp and analyze? He professes to recognize Shakespeare's style; he can tell you confidently which plays are Shakespeare's own, and which he produced in collaboration with others; he can point out the scene and even the particular speech at which Shakespeare dropped the pen and Fletcher took it up. Part of this knowledge is derived, it is true, from "objective" signs. One scene has a larger percentage than others of verses with eleven syllables. That observation requires no critical insight. Yet I do not suppose that any critic would admit that he was unable to discriminate qualities too delicate to be inferred from counting on the fingers. The point of which I am speaking corresponds to the distinction made by Newman in the Grammar of Assent between the "Illative Instinct" and such formal reasoning as can be put into syllogisms. He illustrates it by Falstaff's " babbling of green fields." Some readers, he says, are certain that this was Shakespeare's phrase, while others hold that they do not recognize the true Shakespearian ring. The certitude of either side is therefore not conclusive for the other. Yet the conviction implies that each reader has so vivid a conception of certain characteristics that the

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verdict " this is " or "this is not Shakespearian" arises spontaneously at a particular phrase. "Shakespearian," then, must have a definite though not definable meaning. Something in the term of thought, in the play of humour, fits in or does not exactly fit in with our image, and we must therefore have such an image-whether like or unlike to the reality.

Two difficulties, in fact, are often confounded: the difficulty of knowing and the difficulty of analyzing and formulating our knowledge. Language is too rough and equivocal an instrument to enable us to communicate to others the finer shades of difference which we can clearly recognize. Critics, I fancy, were it not for their characteristic modesty, might be induced by a skilful crossexamination to confess that their knowledge of Shakespeare is much more precise and distinct than they venture to claim. If I had the skill required for the most difficult form of literary art, I should try to surmount their diffidence by a Socratic dialogue. I should not endeavour to reveal new truths to them, but endeavour, like Socrates, to deliver them of the truths with which their judgements are already pregnant. Much as critics of the poetry differ, they show a tendency to converge; there are certain commonplaces and at least many negations in which they would agree. As I do not profess to be an expert, I must limit myself to such generalities. What I would try to show is that what is accepted about the poetry really implies certain conclusions about the man. I must leave it to those who unite more thorough knowledge with greater poetical insight to fill up the rough outlines which such as I can attempt to indicate.

One remark will be granted. A dramatist is no more able than anybody else to bestow upon his characters talents which he does not himself possess. If-as critics are agreed-Shakespeare's creatures show humour, Shakespeare must have had a sense of humour himself. When Mercutio indulges in the wonderful tirade upon Queen Mab, or Jaques moralizes in the forest, we learn

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that their creator had certain powers of mind just as clearly as if we were reading a report of one of the wit combats at the "Mermaid." It is harder to define those qualities precisely than to say what is implied by Johnson's talk at the "Mitre," but the idiosyncrasy is at least as strongly impressed upon such characteristic mental displays. If we were to ask any critic whether such passages could be attributed to Marlowe or Ben Jonson, he would enquire whether we took him for a fool. If we were considering a bit of purely scientific exposition, the inference to character would not exist. A mathematician, I suppose, could tell me that the demonstration of some astronomical theorem was in Newton's manner, and the remark would not show whether Newton was amiable or spiteful, jealous or generous. But a man's humour and fancy are functions of his character as well as of his reason. To appreciate them clearly is to know how he feels as well as how he argues; what are the aspects of life which especially impress him, and what morals are most congenial. I do not see how the critic can claim an instinctive perception of the Shakespearian mode of thought without a perception of some sides of his character. You distinguish Shakespeare's work from his rivals' as confidently as any expert judging of handwriting. You admit, too, that you can give a very fair account of the characteristics of the other writers. Then surely you can tell me-or at least you know "implicitly "-what is the quality in which they are defective and Shakespeare preeminent.

Half my knowledge of a friend's character is derived from his talk, and not the less if it is playful, ironical and dramatic. When we agree that Shakespeare's mind was vivid and subtle, that he shows a unique power of blending the tragic and the comic, we already have some indications of character; and incidentally we catch revelations of more specific peculiarities. Part of my late reading was a charming book in which Mr. Justice Madden sets forth Shakespeare's accurate knowledge of field

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sports. It seems to prove conclusively a proposition against which there can certainly be no presumption. We may be quite confident that he could thoroughly enjoy a day's coursing on the Cotswold Hills, and we know by the most undeniable proof that his sense of humour was tickled by the oddities of his fellow sportsmen, the Shallows and Slenders. It is at least equally clear that he had the keenest enjoyment of charms of the surrounding scenery. He could not have written Midsummer-Night's Dream or As You Like It if the poetry of the English greenwood had not entered into his soul. The single phrase about the daffodils-so often quoted for its magical power-is proof enough, if there were no other, of a nature exquisitely sensitive to the beauties of flowers and of springtime. It wants, again, no such confirmation as Fuller's familiar anecdote to convince us that Shakespeare could enjoy convivial meetings at taverns, that he could listen to, and probably join in, a catch by Sir Toby Belch, or make Lord Southampton laugh as heartily as Prince Hal laughed at the jests of Falstaff. Shakespeare, again, as this suggests, was certainly not a Puritan. That may be inferred by judicious critics from particular phrases or from the relations of Puritans to players in general. But without such reasoning we may go further and say that the very conception of a Puritan Shakespeare involves a contradiction in terms. He represents, of course, in the fullest degree, the type which is just the antithesis of Puritanism ; the large and tolerant acceptance of human nature which was intolerable to the rigid and straitlaced fanatics, whom, nevertheless, we may forgive in consideration of their stern morality. People, indeed, have argued, very fruitlessly I fancy, as to Shakespeare's religious beliefs. Critics tell us, and I have no doubt truly, that it would be impossible to show conclusively from his works whether he considered himself to be an Anglican or a Catholic. But a man's real religion is not to be defined by the formula which he accepts or inferred even from the church to which he belongs. His outward

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profession is chiefly a matter of accident and circumstance, not of character. We may, I think, be pretty certain that Shakespeare's religion, whatever may have been its external form, included a profound sense of the mystery of the world and of the pettiness of the little lives that are rounded by a sleep; a conviction that we are such stuff as dreans are made of, and a constant sense, such as is impressed in the most powerful sonnets, that our present life is an infinitesimal moment in the vast " abysm" of eternity. Shakespeare, we know, read Montaigne ; and if, like Montaigne, he accepted the creed in which he was brought up, he would have sympathized in Montaigne's sceptical and humorous view of theological controversialists playing their fantastic tricks of logic before high Heaven. Undoubtedly, he despised a pedant, and the pedantry which displayed itself in the wranglings of Protestant and Papist divines would clearly not have escaped his contempt. Critics, again, have disputed as to Shakespeare's politics; and the problem is complicated by the desire to show that his politics were as good as his poetry. Sound Jiberals are unwilling to admit that he had aristocratic tendencies, because they hold that all aristocrats are wicked and narrow-minded. It is, of course, an anachronism to transplant our problems to those days, and we cannot say what Shakespeare would have thought of modern applications of the principles which he accepted. But I do not see how any man could have been more clearly what may be called an intellectual aristocrat. His contempt for the mob may be good-humoured enough, but is surely unequivocal: from the portrait of Jack Cade promising, like a good Socialist, that the three-hooped pot shall have ten hoops, to the first, second and third citizens who give a display of their inanity and instability in Coriolanus or Julius Casar. Shakespeare may be speaking dramatically through Ulysses in Troilus and Cressida; but at least he must have fully appreciated the argument for order, and understood by order that the cultivated and intelligent should rule and the common herd have as little
direct voice in State affairs as Elizabeth and James could have desired.

When we have got so far, we have already, as it seems to me, admitted certain attributes, which are as much personal as literary. If you admit that Shakespeare was a humourist, intensely sensitive to natural beauty, a scorner of the pedantry, whether of scholars or theologians, endowed with an amazingly wide and tolerant view of human nature, radically opposed to Puritanism or any kind of fanaticism, and capable of hearty sympathy with the popular instincts and yet with a strong persuasion of the depth of popular folly, you inevitably affirm at least some negative propositions about the man himself. You can say with confidence what are the characteristics which were thoroughly antipathetic to him, even though it may be difficult to describe accurately the characteristics which he positively embodied.

Another point is, it would seem, too plain to need much emphasis. The author of Romeo and Juliet was, I suppose, capable of Romeo's passion. We may "doubt that the sun is fire," but can hardly doubt that Shakespeare could love. In this case, it seems to me, the power of intuition is identical with the emotional power. A man would surely have been unable to find the most memorable utterance in literature of passions of which he was not himself abnormally susceptible. It may be right to describe a poet's power as marvellous, but why should we hold it to be miraculous? I agree with Pope's commonsense remark about Heloisa's " well-sung woes"; " he best can paint 'em who can feel 'em most.'' Surely that is the obvious explanation, and I am unable to see why there should be any difficulty in receiving it. When the blind poet, Blacklock, described scenery which he had never seen, wise critics puzzled over the phenomenon. It was explained by the obvious remark that he was simply appropriating the conventional phrases of other poets. But when a poet gives originality to the most commonplace of all themes. I infer that he has had the eyesight or

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felt the emotions required for the feat. We must, no doubt, be careful as to further differences. If I had read the poems of Burns or Byron without any knowledge of their lives, I should be justified, I think, in modestly inferring that they were men of strong passions. I could not suppose that they were merely vamping up old material. No inference from conduct could be made more conclusive than the inference from the fire and force of their poetry. But it is, of course, doubtful what effect might be produced on their lives. Byron, brought up under judicious and firm management, might conceivably have become an affectionate husband and a respectable nobleman. Some men have greater powers of self-command than others, or may be prevented by other qualities of character from obeying in practice the impulses which govern their imaginations. It has been said that Moore, who in early days shocked his contemporaries by immoral poetry, lived the most domestic and well-regulated of lives; whereas Rogers was the most respectable of poets and a striking contrast to Moore in conduct. The fact, if it be a fact, may warn us against hasty conclusions. A man may have very good reasons for keeping some of his feelings out of his books; or may, out of mere levity, affect vices which he does not put in practice. We can be sure that he has certain propensities; but, of course, we cannot tell how far circumstance and other propensities may not hold them in check. Much smaller men than Shakespeare are still very complex organisms. We may judge from this and that symptom that they react, as a chemist may say, in certain ways to a given stimulus; but to put all the indications together, to say which are the dominant instincts and how different impulses will modify each other in active life; to decide whether a feeling which shapes the ideal world will have a corresponding force when it comes into contact with realities, is a delicate investigation. When an adequate biography is obtainable, the answer is virtually given. The facts of Shakespeare's life are as far as possible from adequate ;

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but we may ask how far what is known can check or confirm inferences from the works.

This brings us to the biographical problem. Minute students of Shakespeare have done one great service at least. They have established approximately the order of his works. The plays, when placed in a chronological series, show probably the most remarkable intellectual development on record. There is, I suppose, no great writer who shows so distinctly the growth and varying direction of his poetical faculty. We watch Shakespeare from the first period of authorship; beginning as a cobbler and adapter of other men's works; making a fresh start as a follower of Marlowe, and then improving upon his model in the great historical dramas. We can compare the gaiety and the ridicule of affectations in the early comedies with the more serious and penetrative portraits of life in the later works; or trace the development of his full powers in the great tragedies, and the mellower tone of the later romantic dramas. If some knowledge of Shakespeare is implied in a comparison between him and his contemporaries, there is still more significance in the comparison with himself. A century ago a critic put the Two Gentlemen of Verona at the end and The Winter's Tale at the beginning of his career. Such an inversion, we now perceive, would make the whole history of his mental development chaotic and contradictory. That Shakespeare, whom we know to have been a marvellously keen observer of life and character, and who lived, as literary historians so elaborately demonstrate, under the most stimulating intellectual and social conditions, must have had his reflections and learnt some lessons about human life is self-evident. To show how, for example, Richard II., in which he followed Marlowe, differed from the Henry IV., in which he has found his own characteristic breadth and strength, is to show what some of those lessons were, and therefore to throw light upon the man who learnt them so quickly. We see how certain veins of reflection become more prominent, how, for ex-

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ample, humour checks the bombastic tendency, and the broader and deeper view of life " begets a temperance" which restrains the " whirlwind" of ungovernable passions. The critic who can exhibit the growth of a man's power implicitly exhibits also the character which is developed; and, in fact, I think that by taking such considerations into account a clearer perception of the man has been gradually worked out. The task, no doubt, would be easier if we could strengthen our case by some definite biographical data; and the misfortune is that we are tempted to construct the required data by the help of audacious conjectures. The natural failure of such enterprises has unduly discredited the value of mere modest inferences.

The hope of unveiling the man has in particular led to the controversy over the Sonnets. They are supposed to show that Shakespeare went through a spiritual crisis, which is indicated by the bitterness of some of the plays written at the time; and the inferences would be applicable if we could safely identify the dark lady with Mistress Fitton and " W. H." with the Earl of Pembroke. I humbly accept Mr. Lee's chief conclusions. He has insisted upon the fact that Shakespeare was falling in with a temporary fashion, or infected by a curious mania which led poets just at that period to pour out sonnets by the hundred. The inference that the Sonnets necessarily imply some personal catastrophe is thus deprived of its force. If half the early Victorian poets had been writing "In Memoriams," we might believe that Tennyson had no special friendship for Arthur Hallam, and had merely made a pretext of a commonplace attachment. It is possible, or rather it is highly probable, that Shal:espeare took some real bit of personal history for a text, though many of the Sonnets are simply variations upon established poetical themes. But we cannot say that his emotion must have been caused by some thrilling events when it is at least equally likely that he merely took a trifling event as a pretext for expressing his emotions. Shake-

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speare was certainly dramatist enough to discover a motive for poetry in a commonplace experience. The attempted identifications do little more than illustrate a common fallacy. The impossibility of conclusively proving a negative is confounded with the conclusive proof of the positive. "It is just possible," becomes " it is certainly true." The whole Pembroke-Fitton hypothesis rests (as Mr. Lee seems to show) upon the interpretation of the famous initials. The fact that a nobleman had an intrigue with a lady about the time when the Sonnets, or some of them, may have been written, cannot prove that they refer to the intrigue. Shakespeare could hardly have managed to write at a period when some intrigue was not going on. If, then, "W. H." did not mean William Herbert, the peg on which the whole argument hangs is struck out. Now "Mr. W. H." could not possibly suggest the Earl to any contemporary, and, in fact, did not suggest him to any one for more than two centuries. That, Professor Brandes seems to think, strengthens the case, because the dedication would naturally be reticent. The argument recalls the old retort:-

My wound is great, because it is so small:
Then it were greater were it none at all!
If there had been no dedication, the proof apparently would have been conclusive, because the reticence would have been absolute. The true argument is surely simple. If there were otherwise very strong reasons for believing in the Pembroke theory, it might be conceivable that the initials were suggested by association, though it would still be odd that reticence pushed so far did not go a step further. In the absence of such reasons, the obscurity cannot of itself be any ground for conviction. People forget how frequent are much closer and yet purely accidental coincidences; but when there is a chance of the glory of a discovery of such a bit of personal history, "trifles light as air " become demonstrative to enthusiastic worshippers.

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There is a more fundamental objection to the whole theory. Were it proved that the Sonnets refer to the conjectured history, the fact would be interesting, but would hardly throw much light upon our problem. It is supposed to suggest a cause for Shakespeare's supposed pessimistic mood. To take a parallel case, we may find an explanation of Swift's misanthropy in his long ordeal of disappointed ambition. There is no doubt whatever that Swift's writings express a misanthropy as savage as that of Timon or Thersites; and on the other side, there is no doubt that his career was calculated to sour his nature. Putting the history of the man and his works together, both become the more intelligible. The fierce indignation shown by the author is explained and palliated by the life of the man. If Shakespeare had suddenly retired from the stage and taken to writing pamphlets like the Drapier's Letters or the Martin Marprelate tracts, we might admit the probability of some events which embittered his life. But then the conspicuous fact is that his life ran on as far as we can tell with perfect smoothness. Nobody can prove that he did not love Mistress Fitton; but it is quite clear that, if he did, it did not prevent him from making money, buying New Place, setting up as a gentleman and continuing a thoroughly prosperous career. The passion clearly did not dislocate his career. Therefore, even if the alleged fact be true, it had no permanent bearing on his life. On the other side, there is no proof of anything in the works to require explanation. Critics have indeed shown that at one period pessimistic sentiments (to speak roughly) become more prominent than before or afterwards. But we must, in the first place, make the proper allowance for the dramatic condition. He may have continued the "Thersites" or "Timon " vein because it was popular or because it suited the acting of one of his "fellows." And in the next place the whole argument that a man must be gloomy because he writes of horrors or indulges in misanthropical tirades is questionable. Sometimes the opposite

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theory is more plausible. When we are young and our nerves strong we can bear excitement which becomes painful as our spirits fail; and in old age we like happy conclusions and soothing imagery, precisely because we are less cheerful. In any case, the works admittedly lose the pessimistic tone in the later years; and the presumption is that if Shakespeare suffered from any moral convulsion he was fortunate enough to be thoroughly cured. The conjectured story is required, if required at all, by the Sonnets alone. When we make proper allowance for the degree in which they were suggested by the contemporary fashion and were imitations of other poets or simple variations of commonplace themes, the necessity for believing in any romance at all vanishes. Thus there are not two histories, literary and personal, which explain each other, but two histories, both of which rest upon conjecture. Even if the conjecture be accepted in either case, the one thing that is clear is that the results were transitory. I can therefore accept Mr. Lee's opinion that the story may be put out of account altogether when we are trying to understand the man in his works.

The more modest inference however remains. If we can infer from his poetry that Shakespeare could be in love, we can surely infer with equal confidence that he could feel the emotions which embody themselves in pessimism. He had, one cannot doubt, satisfied the familiar condition of acquaintance with the heavenly powers. He knew what it was to eat his bread with sorrow and pass his nights in weeping. No one, I suppose, ever read the famous catalogue of the evils which made him pine for restful death, or the reference to the degrading influences of his profession, without feeling that a real man is speaking to us from his own experience. The poetical "intuition," as I must again hold, does not supersede the necessity for assuming the intense sensibility of which it is surely a product. When Thackeray, in the little poem Vanitas Vanitatum, almost repeats Shakespeare's catalogue of the evils which made him pine for restful death,

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as a comment upon the saying of the "Weary King Ecclesiast," I know from his biography that he had gone through corresponding trials. I infer that Shakespeare had felt the emotions which he expressed with unequalled intensity. When we recall the main facts of his career, the society in which he had lived, the events of which he had been a close spectator, and admit, to put it gently, that he was a man of more than average powers of mind and feeling, the a priori probability that he had gone through trying experiences is pretty strong: and though we know none of the details we can hardly suppose that he got through life without abundant opportunities for putting Hamlet's question as to the value of life. This indeed suggests to some critics that the argument ought to be inverted. The life so far from explaining the genius makes it, as some people have thought, a puzzle. "I cannot," says Emerson, "marry this fact" (the fact that Shakespeare was a jovial actor and manager) "to his verse." The best of the world's poets led an "obscure and profane life, using his genius for the public amusement." Obscure and profane are perhaps rather harsh epithets; but they suggest the problem: Is there any real incompatibility between Shakespeare's conduct and the theory of life implied by his writings?

I leave a full answer to the accomplished critic whom I desiderate but do not try to anticipate. Yet, keeping to the region of tolerably safe commonplaces, I fancy that this supposed antithesis really admits of, or rather suggests, a natural mode of conciliation. Emerson laments, what we all admit, that Shakespeare was not a preacher with a mission. He had no definite ethical system to inculcate; and, moreover, so far as we can define his morality, it was not such as would satisfy the saint. If he clearly did not agree with John Knox, we may doubt whether he would have appreciated St. Francis. Martyrs and ascetics would have been out of place in his world. The exalted idealist despises fact: he is impressive precisely because his doctrine is impracticable; the ideal may

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stimulate what is best in us, but it is too refined and exalted to be accepted by the mass. But Shakespeare does not idealize in the sense of neglecting the actual. He is intensely interested in the world as it is, the world moved by the great forces of love, hate, jealousy, ambition, pride, and patriotism. He "idealizes" so far as he has a keener insight than any one into the corresponding types of character, but he does not care, so far as we can see, for the religious enthusiast who retires to a hermitage or scornfully denounces the world, the flesh, and the devil. The men in whom he takes an interest have forgotten that they ever renounced these powers; they are soldiers, courtiers, and statesmen, who give us the secret of the ideal Raleighs and Essexes and Burleighs of his own day. The virtues of purity or self-devotion are left chiefly to the women, who are the most charming by contrast with the world of force and passion in which they move; though now and then a Cleopatra or a Lady Macbeth shows that a woman can be interesting by joining in the rude struggle. This, of course, is to say that Shakespeare is able to interpret in the most vivid way the characteristics of a period of extraordinary intellectual and social convulsion. But his interpretation shows also individual peculiarities which distinguish him from others who experience a similar internal influence. There is, I think, one distinct moral doctrine even in Shakespeare, and one which is a corollary from this position. Hamlet states it in explaining his regard for Horatio, the man

> "Whose blood and judgement are so well commingled That they are not a pipe for fortune's finger To sound what stop she please. Give me that man 'That is not passion's slave, and I will wear him In my heart's core, ay, in my heart of heart, As I do thee."

In a world so full of passion and violence, the essential condition of happiness is the power of keeping your head. They, as he says in a remarkable sonnet, " who, moving

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others, are themselves as stone," are the right inheritors of "Heaven's graces." The one character who, as commentators agree, represents a personal enthusiasm, is Henry V., and Henry V.'s special peculiarity is his superlative self-command. It is emphasized even at some cost of dramatic propriety. Critics at least have complained of the soliloquy [ I Henry $I V$., I. ii.] beginning
> "I know you all, and will a while uphold The unyoked humour of your idleness,"

in which the prince expresses a deliberate intention of throwing off his wild companions. He is talking to the audience, it is suggested, and should not have so clear a theory of motives which he would scarcely avow to him* self. I fancy indeed that many young gentlemen have indulged in similar excuses for the process of sowing their wild oats; and the main peculiarity of Henry V. is that he really means them and keeps to his resolution. Shakespeare obviously expects us to approve the exile of Falstaff, and rather scandalizes readers who have fallen in love with that disreputable person. A similar moral is implied in others of the most characteristic plays. Shakespeare, for example, sympathizes most heartily and unmistakably with the pride of Coriolanus and the passionate energy of Mark Antony. They are admirable and attractive because they have such hot blood in their veins; but come to grief because the blood is not "commingled" with judgement. The really enviable thing, he seems to say, would be to unite the two characteristics; to be full of energy which shall yet be always well in hand; to have unbounded strength of passion and yet never to be the slave of passion.

If this be a characteristic impression it is an obvious suggestion that it is illustrated by Shakespeare's life. The young lad from the country had the same temptations as Robert Greene and Christopher Marlowe. He did not escape them by any coldness of temperament or inability to appreciate the pleasures of the town. He may, as two

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or three stories suggest, have given way to weaknesses which would account for some of the expressions of remorse in the Sonnets. Anyhow, he had retained enough prudence and self-command to avoid the fate of a Pistol or a Falstaff. He became a highly respectable man as well as a world-poet. If he caught some stains from bad company, they were, as I may leave the critics to demonstrate, superficial. The appreciation of pure and lofty qualities develops instead of declines as years go on. It surely cannot be said that an eye for the main chance is inconsistent with the poetical character. The conventional poet, of course, lives in dreamland, and is an incapable man of business. But then it is the specialty of Shakespeare, that if he could dream, he must have been most keenly awake to a living world of men. Interest in and insight into our fellow creatures is surely a good qualification for business. Voltaire was a superlative man of business. Goethe knew the value of a good social position. Pope was a keen and successful moneymaker. Dickens showed a similar capacity. Such cases may show that men can reconcile literary genius with business aptitudes. In one respect they may fall short of the case. They do not imply the actual preference of "gain" to "glory" attributed to Shakespeare. The closer parallel is, of course, Scott. If Scott's enjoyment of Abbotsford led to his ruin, while Shakespeare's more modest ambition was satisfied by New Place, the difference may have been that in the earlier period the arts of manufacturing paper credit were not so well understood. Still, Scott's estimate of the really valuable element of life naturally suggests Shakespeare. He held that the man of action was superior to the man of letters. He wondered that the Duke of Wellington should condescend to an interest in the author of a few "bits of novels." He meant frankly to make money by providing harmless amusement; but he did not fancy that the achievements of a novelist were comparable to the winning of battles or the making of laws. Shakespeare, we may guess,

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would have agreed. Like Scott, he held aloof from literary squabbles, whether from good-nature, or from worldly wisdom, or a sense of the pettiness of such calculations. He had his literary vanity, but it was to be satisfied by the poems and by the circulation of the Sonnets in manuscript. The plays were in the first instance pot-boilers. He could not help putting his power into them when a situation laid hold of his imagination ; but the haste, the frequent flagging of interest, the curious readiness with which he drops an interesting character or accepts an unsatisfactory catastrophe, tends to show a singular indifference. In the greatest play, as in Othello, the inspiration lasts throughout; but in most he does not take the trouble to keep up to the highest level.

I need not ask whether the opinions attributed to Scott and Shakespeare are defensible. Some people, I know, consider that " devotion to art " is the cardinal virtue, and that it is better to turn out a good poem and starve than to write down to the public and pay your bills. That is an old controversy; but, at any rate, Shakespeare's view is characteristic. He was never blind to the humourist's point of view, and humour has its questionable ethical quality. It helps some people to see the charm of the "simple faith miscalled simplicity," and Shakespeare's cordial appreciation of a fool shows one side of an amiable disposition. But a saint can hardly be a humourist. It is his nature to take things seriously, and to believe (bold as it appears) in the power of sermons. The humourist sees with painful distinctness the folly of the wise and the weakness of the hero and the general perversity of fortune. He may be capable of enthusiasm, or, at least, sympathy, with the enthusiastic; but he feels that there is always a lurking irony in the general order of things. He is specially conscious of the vanity of his own ambition, and aware that his highest success makes a very small ripple on the great ocean of existence. Shakespeare had the good (though not rare) fortune of living before his commentators. His head, therefore, was not turned,

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and he held, we may suppose, that to defeat the Armada was a more important bit of work than to amuse the audience at the Globe. He could feel, indeed, the irony with which fate treats the great men of action. Masterful ambitions lead to catastrophes, and in the political world, where order and subordination are the essentials, even the ideal hero who can be calm in the storm, and hold his own amidst the struggling elements, is not much the better for it personally. Henry V. is still but a man made to bear the blame of all mishap, and "subject to the breath of every fool." He has nothing to show for it, "save ceremony," and cannot sleep so soundly as the vacantminded slave. So the Spanish minister is said to have told the king: "Your Majesty is but a ceremony," an essential part, indeed, of the framework of the State, but not superior in personal happiness to the ordinary human being.

That, it seems to me, points to the most obvious solution of the supposed contrast between the man and the author. Nobody was more keenly alive to every vanity of enjoyment, or more capable of sympathizing with the passions and ambitions of all the amazingly vigorous life that was going on around him. He can be poet and lover and sportsman, a boon companion, and watch the great game that is played in the court or in the wars. He can act as they come every part in Jaques' famous speech, always with an eye to the end of the strange, eventful history; take everything as it comes, and yet ask, "What is it worth?" Never forget, he seems to have replied, that life is very short, and man very small, and the pleasure appropriate to each stage has drawbacks, and will disappear altogether as the powers decline. And by the time you are fifty it will be well to have a comfortable little place of your own in the quiet country town endeared by youthful memories.

If everything that I have said should be granted there would be great gaps in our knowledge of Shakespeare. We could only fill them by the help of data no longer

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ascertainable. We do not know what scrapes he may have got into; only that he must have got out of them: nor how much he cared for his wife and children, or how he behaved in business transactions, or whether he was too obsequious to his patrons. If such questions could be answered we might know a great deal more of him. Yet I think also that some very distinct personal qualities are sufficiently implied. Shakespeare's life suggests a problem. We have, on the one hand, a man abnormally sensitive to all manner of emotions, and having an unrivalled power of sympathy with every passion of human nature. On the other hand, though exposed to all the temptations of a most exciting " environment," he accomplishes a prosperous and outwardly commonplace career. He could emerge from the grosser element, no doubt, because his powers of intellect and imagination raised him above the level of the sensualist whose tastes he sometimes condescended to gratify. But he could not be a Puritan, because their stern morality was radically opposed to the æsthetic enjoyment to which he was most sensitive. He cared little for the æstheticism of a different and more sentimental type, which condemns as worldly the great passions and emotions which are the really moving forces of the world. He sympathizes far too heartily with human loves and hatreds and political ambitions. But then he cannot, like Marlowe or Chapman, sympathize unequivocally with the heroic when it becomes excessive and overstrained. The power of humour keeps him from the bombastic and the affected, and he sees the facts of life too clearly not to be aware of the vanity of human wishes; the disappointments of successful ambition and the emptiness of its supposed rewards. He is profoundly conscious of the pettiness of human life and of the irony of fate-of which, indeed, he had plenty of instances before him. This, I fancy, implies personal characteristics which fall in very well, so far as they can be grasped, with what we know of the life. Be a Romeo while you can; love is delightful when you

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are young; only think twice before you buy your dram of poison. As you grow older be a soldier, a hero, or a statesman, or, if you can be nothing better, be a playwright, so long as the inspiration comes with spontaneous and overpowering force. But always remember to keep your passions in check, and don't forget that the prize, even if you win it, may turn to ashes in your mouth. Fate is always playing ugly tricks, punishing the reckless, and exposing illusions. The struggle is fascinating while it lasts because it rouses the energies; but when the energies decay the position which it has won loses its charm. Literary glory, though one may talk about it in sonnets, is a trifle. Your rivals are many of them very good fellows, and make excellent society; it is both pleasant and prudent to be on good terms with them, and nothing is so contemptible as the rivalry of authors. But, after all, success only means a position among jealous dependents of great men, who themselves are very apt to get into the Tower and even to the scaffold. When youthful passions have grown feeble, and the delight of being applauded by the mob has rather palled upon one, the best thing will be to break the magical wand and sit down with, we will hope, "good Mistress Hall" for a satisfactory Miranda, at Stratford-upon-Avon. Though we can no longer write ballads to our mistress' eyebrow, we can heartily appreciate gentle, pure, and obedient womanhood, and may hope that some specimens may be found, while we still enjoy a chat and a convivial meeting with an old theatrical friend. This view of life suggests, I think, a very real person, and does not go beyond what is substantially admitted by literary critics.

## The English Drama.

## The English Drama.*

## BY RICHARD GRANT WHITE.

The English drama, like the Greek, has a purely religious origin. The same is true of the drama of every civilized people of modern times. It is worthy of particular remark that the theatre, denounced by churchmen and by laymen of eminently evangelical profession, as base, corrupting, and sinful, not in its abuse and its degradation, but in its very essence, should have been planted and nourished by churchmen, having priests for its first authors and actors, and having been for centuries the chief school of religion and of morals to an unlettered people. Theatrical representations have probably continued without interruption from the time of Æschylus. Even in the dark ages, which we look back upon too exclusively as a period of gloom, tumult, and bloodshedding, people bought and sold, and were married and given in marriage, and feasted and amused themselves as we do now; and we may be sure that among their amusements dramatic representations of some sort were not lacking. The earliest dramatic performances in the modern languages of Europe of which we have any record or tradition were representations of the most striking events recorded in the Hebrew Scriptures and in the Christian Gospels, of some of the stories told in the Pseudo Evangelium, or Spurious Gospel, or of legends of the saints. On the continent these were called Mysteries; In England both Mysteries and Miracle-plays.

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The ancient Hebrews had at least one play. It was founded upon the exodus of their people from Egypt. Fragments of this play in Greek iambics have been preserved to modern times in the works of various authors. The principal characters are Moses, Zipporah, and God in the Bush. The author, one Ezekiel, is called by Scaliger the tragic poet of the Jews. His work is referred by one critic to a date before the Christian era; others suppose that he was one of the Seventy Translators; but Warton, my authority in this instance, supposes that he wrote his play after the destruction of Jerusalem, hoping by its means to warm the patriotism and revive the hopes of his dejected countrymen.

The Eastern Empire long clung to all the glories to which its name, its language, and its position gave it a presumptive title; and the tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides were performed after some fashion at Constantinople until the fourth century. At this period Gregory Nazianzen, archbishop, patriarch, and one of the fathers of the church, banished the pagan drama from the Greek stage, and substituted plays founded on subjects taken from the Hebrew or the Christian Scriptures. St. Gregory wrote many plays of this kind himself ; and Warton says that one of them, called $X \rho \imath \sigma \tau$ os $\Pi \alpha \sigma \chi \omega v$, or Christ's Passion. is still extant. In this play, which, according to the Prologue, was written in imitation of Euripides, the Virgin Mary was introduced upon the stage, making then, as far as we know, her first appearance. St. Gregory died about A. D. 390. His dramatic productions more than rivalled his other theological writings in the favour of the people; for, as Warton also mentions, St. Chrysostom, who soon succeeded Gregory in the see of Constantinople, complained that in his day people heard a comedian with much more pleasure than a minister of the gospel. St. Chrysostom held the see of Constantinople from A. D. 398 to A. D. 404. In this quarter also another kind of dramatic representation-that of mummery or masking-developed itself in a Christian or a

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modern form. It is known that many of the Christian festivals which have come down to us from the dark ages were the fruits of a grafting of Christian legends upon pagan ceremonies-a contrivance by which the priests supposed that they had circumvented the heathen, who would more easily give up their religion than their feasts and their holidays. And the introduction of religious mumming and masking by Theophylact, patriarch of Constantinople, about the year 990, has been reasonably attributed to a design of giving the people a Christian performance which they could and would substitute in place of the Bacchanalian revels. He is said by an historian of the succeeding generation to have "introduced the practice which prevails even at this present day of scandalizing God and the memory of his saints, on the most splendid and popular festivals, by indecent and ridiculous songs, and enormous shoutings, . . . diabolical dances, exclamations of ribaldry, and ballads borrowed from the streets and brothels." The Feast of Fools and the Feast of Asses--the latter of which was instituted in honour of Balaam's beast-had this origin. Such mingling of revelry and religion as these Feasts, and of amusement and instruction in the faith as the Mysteries, suited both the priestly and the popular need of the time; and they soon found their way westward, and particularly into France. There, not long after, the Feast of Asses was performed in this manner: The clergy walked on Christmas day in procession, habited to represent Moses, David, the prophets, other Hebrews, and Assyrians. Balaam, with an immense pair of spurs, rode on a wooden ass, which enclosed a speaker. Virgil was one of the procession, which moved on, chanting versicles and dialoguing in character on the birth of Christ, through the body of the church, until it reached the choir. The fairs of those days, which were the great occasions of profit and amusement, offered opportunities for the performance of these "holy farces," or of the soberer mysteries or miracleplays, of which the priests did not fail to avail them-

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selves; and thus this rude form of religious drama spread gradually, but not slowly, throughout Europe.

Warton and his editor Price found that religious plays were performed in Italy at a period very much earlier than either Riccoboni or Crescembini, the principal Italian authorities on this subject, supposed; in fact, that they were common as early as 1250 . In the natural order of things this species of performance would pass from Italy to France and from France to England; and the supposition that it was brought into the latter country across the channel is supported by the fact that there is evidence that the first religious plays performed in England were translations from the French. Some yet extant have passages in that language scattered through them-a fact which can be most reasonably accounted for by the supposition that these isolated passages are parts of the original, left untranslated in the manuscripts which have come down to us. It has even been supposed that the first miracleplays produced in England were performed in French. Possibly this supposition is well founded; but we may be sure that these plays soon received an English dress. For the miracle-plays were used by the priesthood for the religious instruction, not only of those who could not read-among whom were the Norman nobles who could understand French-but also, and chiefly, of the middle and lower classes, to whom French was almost as incomprehensible as the Latin in which their prayers were vicariously mumbled. Miracle-plays seem to have been, in some measure at least, the fruit of the same laudable desire on the part of the Roman Catholic priesthood for the instruction of their people in religious truth, to which we owe the rhymed homilies or gospel paraphrases of the thirtcenth century, in which the lesson of the day, read of course in Latin, was translated, amplified, and illustrated in octosyllabic rhymes, which were read to the people by the priest. Six ancient manuscript collections of these homilies are known to exist ; and in the prologue to the oldest one of them, which is of the fourteenth cen-

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tury, and which has recently been printed, the writer expressly says that he has undertaken his task of thus preaching in English that all may understand what he says, because both clerks and ignorant men understand English, but all men cannot understand Latin and French.

The earliest performance of a miracle-play in England of which any record has been discovered took place within about ten years previous to IIIg. The play, founded upon the legend of St. Catherine, was written by Geoffrey, afterwards Abbot of St. Alban's, before he became abbot, and was performed in Dunstable. So says Matthew Paris in his Lives of the Abbots, which was written before 1240. Geoffrey, a Norman monk and a member of the University of Paris, became Abbot of St. Alban's in III9. But his miracle-play was no novelty; for Budæus, the historian of the University of Paris, tells us that it was at that time common for teachers and scholars to get up these performances.* Fitz-Stephen, Thomas à Becket's contemporary and biographer, also records that in London, during the life or soon after the death of that stiff-necked priest, who was put to death in ilyo, there were performed in London religious plays representing the miracles wrought by saints, or the sufferings and constancy of martyrs. $\dagger$ These miracle-plays or mysteries derived their name from the fact that, whether founded upon the Old or the New Testament, the spurious Gospel attributed to Nicodemus, or church tradition, they almost without exception represented a display of supernatural power. Made the means of teaching not only religious history, but religious dogmas, these miracleplays often represented a display of supernatural power in the support of those dogmas; and naturally that one most in need of such extra-rational aid, transubstantiation, received most of this bolstering. One of the oldest

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manuscript miracle-plays extant, the manuscript being, in the judgement of experts, as old as $1460-70$, is upon this subject. It is called The Play of the Blessed Sacrament, and dramatizes a miracle said to have been worked in the forest of Aragon in the year I46I; but doubtless the tradition is older. Among the characters are Christ, five Jews, a bishop, a curate, a Christian merchant, and a physician. The merchant steals the Host and sells it to the Jews, on condition that they shall become Christians if they find that it has miraculous powers. To test its character, they stab it; it bleeds, and one of them goes mad at the sight: one attempts to nail it to a post; he has his hand torn off: the physician is called in, but after a comic scene is turned out as a quack. They then boil the Host, and the water turns to blood. Finally, they try to consume it in a blazing furnace, when the oven bursts asunder and an image of Christ arises, before which the Jews prostrate themselves, and become Christians on the spot. The bishop now forms a procession, enters the Jew's house, and addresses the image, which changes to bread again. He then "improves the occasion" offered by this comic-pantomime-like performance, in an epilogue, which is a rhymed homily on transubstantiation.

There were neither theatres nor professional actors in England, indeed in Europe, at the period when miracleplays first came in vogue. Their first performers were clergymen; the first stages or scaffolds on which they were presented were set up in churches. Evidence that this was the case has been discovered in such profusion that it is needless to specify it more particularly in this place, than to remark that councils and prelates finally found it necessary to forbid such performances, either in churches or by the clergy. After the exclusion of the clergy from the religious stage, lay brothers, parish clerks, and the hangers-on of the priesthood naturally took the place of their spiritual fathers, under whose superintendence, or, to speak precisely, management, the

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miracle-plays were brought out. Excluded from the church itself, like the strange Dansc Macabre, or Dance of Death, like that dance the miracle-play found fitting refuge in the churchyard. But it was finally forbidden within all hallowed precincts, and was then presented upon a movable scaffold or pageant, which was dragged through the town, and stopped for the performance at certain places designated by an announcement made a day or two before. At last the presentation of these plays fell entirely into the hands of laymen, and the handicraftsmen became their actors; the members of the various guilds undertaking respectively certain plays which they made for the time their specialty. Thus the Shearmen, or Tailors, would represent one, the Cappers another, and so with the Smiths, the Skinners, the Fishmongers, and others. In the Chester series Noah's Flood was very appropriately assigned to the Water Dealers and Drawers of the Dee. It is almost needless to remark that the female characters were always played by striplings and young men. Women did not appear upon the English stage until the middle of the seventeenth century. It would seem that the priests appeared only as amateurs, and that their performances were gratuitous. But when the laymen, or at least when the handicraftsmen, undertook the business, they were paid, as we know by the memorandums of account still existing.*

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The oldest manuscript of an English miracle-play known to exist is that of The Harrowing of Hell, which is among the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum. This manuscript is believed to have been written about I350; but that date of course does not help us to determine the period when the play was composed, or give it priority in this respect to others which have been preserved only in more modern writing. The Harrowing of Hell is supposed with probability to have been one of a series; and its subject, the descent of Christ into hell for the purpose of bringing away thence the saints and prophets, has its place in collections or series which have from their completeness greater interest and importance.

The three most important sets of miracle-plays in our language are known as the Townley, the Coventry, and the Chester collections. The Townley collection is supposed to have belonged to Widkirk Abbey, and is hence sometimes called the Widkirk collection. The manuscript, in the opinion of Mr. Collier, is of the time of Henry VI.* The Coventry collection is so called because there is reason to believe that it was the property of the Gray Friars of Coventry, who were famous for the performance of miracle-plays at the feast of Corpus Christi. The principal part of the manuscript copy extant was written in the year 1468 , as appears by that date upon one

* The following are the titles of the thirty plays in the Townley series: I. The Creation and the Rebellion of Lucifer. II. Mactatio Abel. III. Progressus Noæ cum Filiis. IV. Abraham. V. Jacob and Esau. VI. Processus Prophetarum. VII. Pharao. VIII. Cæsar Augustus. IX. Annunciato. X. Salutatio Elizabethæ. XI. Pastorum. XII. Alia eorundem. XIII. Oblatio Magorum. XIV. Fugatio Josephi et Mare in Egiptum. XV. Magnus Herodus. XVI. Purificatio Mariæ. XVII. Johannes Baptista. XVIII. Conspiratio Christi. XIX. Colaphizatio. XX. Flagellatio. XXI. Processus Crucis. XXII. Processus Talentorum. XXIII. Extractio Animarum. XXIV. Ressurectio Domini. XXV. Peregrini. XXVI. Thomas Judiæ. XXVII. Ascensio Domini. XXVIII. Judicium. XXIX. Lazarus. XXX. Suspensio Judx.


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page of the volume.* The Chester series, of which there are three existing manuscript copies, the oldest only of the year 1600 , belonged to the city of Chester. Its author was one Randle, a monk of Chester Abbey. They were played upon Whitsunday by the tradesmen of that city, and Mr. Markam, one of the earliest, and, in the phrase of his day, most ingenious writers upon this subject has pretty clearly established that they were first produced in 1268 , four years after the establishment of the feast of Corpus Christi, under the auspices of Sir John Arneway, mayor of Chester. $\dagger$ A brief analysis of some of the plays

* The Coventry series contains forty-two plays, upon the following subjects: I. The Creation. II. The Fall of Man. III.. The Death of Abel. IV. Noah's Flood. V. Abraham's Sacrifice. VI. Moses and the Ten Tables. VII. The Genealogy of Christ. VIII. Anna's Pregnancy. IX. Mary in the Temple. X. Mary's Betrothment. XI. The Salutation and the Conception. XII. Joseph's Return. XIII. The Visit to Elizabeth. XIV. The Trial of Joseph and Mary. XV. The Birth of Christ. XVI. The Adoration of the Shepherds. XVII. The Adoration of the Magi. XVIII. The Purification. XIX. The Slaughter of the Innocents. XX. Christ disputing in the Temple. XXI. The Baptism of Christ. XXII. The Temptation. XXIII. The Woman taken in Adultery. XXIV. Lazarus. XXV. The Council of the Jews. XXVI. The Entry into Jerusalem. XXVII. The Last Supper. XXVIII. The Betraying of Christ. XXIX. King Herod. XXX. The Trial of Christ. XXXI. Pilate's Wife's Dream. XXXII. The Crucifixion. XXXIII. The Descent into Hell. XXXIV. The Burial of Christ. XXXV. The Resurrection. XXXVI. The three Marys. XXXVII. Christ appearing to Mary Magdalen. XXXVIII. The Pilgrims of Emmaus. XXXIX. The Ascension. XL. Descent of the Holy Ghost. XLI. The Assumption. XLII. Doomsday.
$\dagger$ The Chester series contains but twenty-four plays, upon the following subjects: I. The Fall of Lucifer. II. De Creatore Mundi. III. De Deluvio Noæ. IV. De Abrahamo Melchisedech, et Loth. V. De Mosc et Rege Balak, et Balaam Propheta. VI. De Salutatione at Nativitate Salvatoris. VII. De Pastoribus Greges pascentibus. VIII. De Tribus Regibus Orientalibus. IX. De Oblatione Tertium Regum. X. De Occisione Innocentium.


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of the Coventry series will give a correct notion of the character of these queer compositions.

A prologue, in stanzas, spoken alternately by three vexillators, tells in detail the subjects of the forty-two plays. The first, The Creation, is opened by God, who, after declaring in Latin that he is alpha and omega, the beginning and the end, goes on in English to assert his might and his triune existence, and then announces his creative intentions. A chorus of angels then sing in Latin the Tibi omnes angeli, etc., of the Te Deum. Lucifer next appears, and asks the angels whether they sing thus in God's honour, or in his, asserting that he is the most worthy. The good angels declare for God; the bad for Lucifer. God then dooms him to fall from heaven to hell. Lucifer submits to his sentence without murmuring, and expresses his emotion only in a manner most likely to deprive the scene of any dignity it might otherwise have exhibited. The second play, The Fall of Man, opens with a speech by Adam and a reply by Eve, in which they set forth their happy condition and the command concerning the tree of knowledge of good and evil. The serpent then appears, and tempts Eve to violate this command. The action, if action it must be called, follows in the most servile manner, and with no expansion, the narrative in Genesis ; and Adam and Eve are expelled from paradise.* It is clear that the representatives of the XI. De Purificatione Virginis. XII. De Tentatione Salvatoris. XIII. De Chelidomo et Resurrectio Lazari. XIV. De Jesu intrante Domum Simeonis Leprosi. XV. De Cœna Domini. XVI. De Passione Christi. XVII. De Descensu Christi ad Inferos. XVIII. De Resurrectione Jesu Christi. XIX. De Christo ad Castellum Emmaus. XX. De Ascensione Domini. XXI. De Electione Matthæ. XXII. Ezekiel. XXIII. De Adventu Antichristi. XXIV. De Judicio Extremo.

* Here is Eve's lamentation:-

Eva. Alas! alas! and wele away,
That evyr towchyd I the tre;
I wende as wrecche in welsome way, In blake busshys my boure xal be.

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types of our race appeared upon the stage innocently free from " the troublesome disguises that we wear "; and that they afterward faithfully followed the Hebrew lawgiver's narrative in the use of fig leaves.* In the third play, Cain and $A b e l$, the only noteworthy points are, first, that Cain speaks very disrespectfully of Adam and his counsels, saying that he cares not a hair if he never sees him; and next that, when Abel's offering is accepted and consumed by fire, Cain breaks out into abuse of him, calling him a "stinking losel." $\dagger$ This, by the way, is one of

In paradys is plente of playe,
ffayr frutys ryth gret plente,
The Zatys be schet with Godys keye,
My husbond is lost because of me.
Leve spowse now thou fonde,
Now stomble we on stalk and ston.
My wyt alvey is fro me gon,
Wrythe on to my necke bon
With hardnesse of thin honde.

* In the Chester miracle-play the stage direction is "Here shall Adam and Eve stand nackede and shall be not ashamed." In the Coventry play Adanl speaks thus immediately after he has eaten the apple:-

Adam dicet sic.
Alas! alas! ffor this fals dede, My fleshy frend my fo I fynde,
Schameful synne doth us unhede,
I se us nakyd before and behynde.
Our lordes wurd wold we not drede,
Therefore we be now caytyvys unkynde,
Oure pore prevytes ffor to hede,
Somme ffygge-levys fayn wolde I fynde,
ffor to hyde oure schame.
Womman, ley this leff on thi pryvyte, And with this leff I xal hyde me, Gret schame it is us nakyd to se, Oure lord God thus to grame.
$\dagger$ Cain's speech, which here follows, will give a notion of the language and the action of the play at the poirt of highest in-terest:-

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the few representations of contemporary manners furnished by these miracle-plays. If we accept them as truthful in this regard, we must credit our forefathers with a ready resort to foul language when they were angered. Afterward, in the play on Noah's Flood, Lamech calls a young man "a stinking lurdane," and in that on the Woman taken in Adultery, the Scribes and Pharisees call her forth to be taken to judgement in language more pharisaic than decent. The Townley mystery, which represents the first fratricide, is even more grotesque and indecent than that in the collection which we are examining. Cain comes upon the stage with a plough and team, and quarrels with his ploughboy for refusing to drive the oxen. Abel enters, bids speed the plough to Cain, and in reply is told to do something quite unmentionable. Afier Abel is killed, the boy counsels flight for fear of the bailiffs. Cain then makes a mock proclamation, which his boy blunderingly repeats; and after this clownish foolery, Cain bids the audience farewell before he goes to hell. The personages in the fourth play, Noah's Flood, are God, Noah and his wife, his three sons and their wives, an angel, Cain, Lamech, and a young man. Noah and his family talk pharisaic morality for about the first third of the play. God then declares his displeasure, and that he "wol be vengyd"; to which end he will destroy all the world, except Noah and his family. The angel announces the coming flood

Caym. What? thou stynkyng losel, and is it so? Doth God the love and hatyht me?
Thou xalt be ded I xal the slo, Thi Lord thi God thou xalt nevyr se!
Tything more xalt thou nevyr do, With this chavyl bon I ral sle the, Thi deth is dyht, thi days be go, Out of myn handys xalt thou not fle, With this strok I the kylle.-
Now this boy is slayn and dede,
O hym I xal nevyr more han drede,
He xal hereafter nevyr ete brede, With this gresse I xal him hylle.

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to Noah, and bids him build a ship to save his household, and " of every kynds bestes a cowpyl." Noah and his family go out to build the ship, and Lamech enters blind and conducted by a young man. In spite of his infirmity, at the suggestion of his guide, he shoots at a supposed beast in a bush; but, like another hapless person known to rhyme who " bent his bow," he hits what he did not shoot at, and kills Cain, who mysteriously happens to be in the bush. Aroused to wrath, and moved by fear of the fate predicted of him who should slay Cain, Lamech kills the young man who had misled him into shooting at the beast. He goes out, and Noah comes in with his ship-"et statim intrat Noc cum navi cantantes [sic]." This ship, as we learn from the direction in the corresponding play of the Chester Mysteries, was customarily painted over with figures of the beasts supposed to be within, as if they had struck through, and come ou't like an eruption. In that play, too, and also in the corresponding Townley play, Noah's wife refuses to enter the ark. Indeed, in those plays she is represented as an arrant scold. In the first scene she berates Noah, who gives her as good as she sends, and both swear roundly by the Virgin Mary ; and as to going into the ark, the patriarch, "the secunde fathyr," as he styles himself, edified the female part of the audience by fairly flogging his wife on board with a cart-whip. The flood comes on (we have returned to the Coventry plays) ; Noah and his wife speak thirty lines of dialogue, and then he says:-
> " x1t1 days and nightes hath lasted thys rayn, And xati days this grett flood begynnyth to slake;
> This crowe xal I sende out to seke sum playn,
> Good tydynges to brynge this message I makc."

The crow does not return, and the dove is sent, " qua redeunte cum ramo viride olive," as the stage direction says, Noah and his family leave the ark, singing, "Mare videt et fugit," etc.

The fourteenth play, which represents The Trial of Joseph and Mary on accusations based upon the latter's

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mysterious pregnancy, is opened by a crier, who summons the jurors and people who have causes to come into court. Although the trial is supposed, of course, to take place in Palestine before the Christian era, it is presided over by " my lorde the buschop," and the people summoned are English folk of the lower class, whose surnames have plainly been given to them on account of their occupation or their personal traits.* The crier lets us into a judge's secret, by warning those who have causes to be tried to put money in their purses, or their cause may speed the worse. Plainly there were properties, and even machinery, upon the stage at this rude and early period; and, indeed, the lists of properties (for they seem always to have been so called) which have been preserved show that no small pains were taken to portray the glories and the horrors of the various scenes presented. The seventeenth play, The Adoration of the Magi, introduces the most famous character in these dramas-Herod. He is always represented in them not only as wicked and cruel, but as a tremendous braggart. He raves and swaggers and swears without stint ; his favorite oath being by Mahound, i. e., Mohammed; for in all respects these miracle-plays set chronology at defiance. The speeches put into his mouth, more than any others, are written in the old Anglo-Saxon alliterative style, of which Piers Ploughman's Vision is a well-known example. $\dagger$ Herod,

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in spite of his heathenism, his cruelty, his profanity, and his braggadocio-perhaps by reason of them-used to be

The knave childeryn that be
In alle Israel countré,
Thie xul have blody ble, ffor on I calde unkende.
It is told in Grw,
His name xulde be Jhesu I fownde.
To have hym 3e gon,
Hewe the flesche with the bon.
And gyff hym wownde!
Now kene knyghtes kythe your craflys.
And kyllyth knave childreyn and castyth hem in clay;
Shewyth on 3 our shulderes scheldys and schaftys,
Schapyht amonge schel chowthys ashyrlyng shray;
Doth rowncys rennen with rakynge raftys,
Tyl rybbys be to rent with a reed ray.
Lete no barne beleve on bete baftys,
Tyl a beggere blede be bestys baye, Mahound that best may;
I warne 3ow my knyghtes,
A barn is born I plyghtes,
Wold clymbyn kynge and kyknytes,
And lett my lordly lay.
Knyghtes wyse
Chosyn ful chyse
Aryse! aryse!
And take 3 our tolle!
And every page
Of ij. 3ere age
Or eveyr 3e swage, Sleythe ilke a fool.
On of hem alle
Was born in stalle
ffolys hym calle Kynge in crown
With byttyr galle,
He xalle down falle.-
My myght in halle Xal nevyr go down.

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a favourite character with young men of spirit and parts who were stage-struck. Chaucer, it will be remembered, says, in the Miller's Tale, of his " Absolon, that joly was and gay ":-

> "Sometime to shew his lightness and maistrie He plaieth Herode on a skaffolde hie."

But more than by the indecency, the coarseness, the bombast, and the vapidity of these miracle-plays, we are astonished and repulsed by the degrading familiarity with which they treat the most awful and most moving incidents of the Gospel history. The Last Supper was actually played; the Crucifixion was actually played; and even the Resurrection was not too sacred or mysterious a subject to be represented. Conforming both to the religious spirit and the taste of the time, the clerical dramatist spared his audience the sight of no indignity, of no torture, suffered by Christ, but took delight in representing all the physical circumstances attending his death with gross and bald particularity.* And as we close our examination of the miracle-plays, a reflection of their mingled childishness and temerity must be uppermost in the mind of every reader. Had it not been done, it would

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seem almost impossible that such subjects could be so unworthily treated by men of sense and education, which the better class of Roman Catholic priests were even in the days when these plays were written. Here were the grandest themes handled by authors to whom they were matters of religious faith and supreme concern ; and all that was done was to degrade, to belittle, and to make ridiculous. The rudeness of the people for whose instruction and pleasure the miracle-plays were produced, and the gross and material character of religion in that day, account in a great measure for this shocking contrast between subject and treatment. But yet it would seem that, though rude and simple, these compositions might have preserved some little of the spirit of the Hebrew writers from whom their subjects were taken, and who themselves wrote for people only a little advanced beyond the pale of semi-barbarism. And one subject, by remarkable coin-

| Tertius Judaus. | Gef hese other arm to me,Another take hed to hese feet; And anon we xal se Yf the borys be for hym mete. |
| :---: | :---: |
| Quartus Judaus. | This is mete, take good hede ; Pulle out that arm to the sore. |
| Primus Judaus. | This is short, the devyl hym sped, Be a large fote and more. |
| S | ffest on a rop and pulle hym long, And I xal drawe the ageyn; Spare we not these ropys strong, Thow we brest both flesch and veyn! |
| Tertius Judaus. | Dryve in the nayle anon, lete se, And loke and the flesch and sennes welle last. |
| Quartus Judaus. | That I graunt, so mote I the ; <br> Lo! this nayl is dreve ryth wel and fast. |
| Primus Judaus. | ffest a rope than to his feet, And draw hym down long anow. |
| Secundus Judaus. | Here is a nayl for both good and greet, I xal dryue it thorwe, I make a vow! |
| Here xule thei | ve of and dazuncyn abowte the cros shortly. |

cidence, was treated with a certain degree of simplicity and pathos by the writers of all of the three great collections of English miracle-plays. This was the story of Abraham and Isaac. And it is worthy of special remark that it was a subject of which the interest is purely human, or at least that part of the subject in question which exhibited paternal love on the one side and filial love and devotion on the other, which raised all these writers out of their slough of coarseness and buffoonery into the region of healthy sentiment. The Coventry series, which we have been examining, offers the best treatment of this incident; which in itself, and in the barest relation of it, if one can repress an outbreak of rebellious indignation and disbelief, the most pathetic and heart-breaking told in all the Hebrew Scriptures. With an extract from this composition, which I shall put in modern language, I shall close this notice of English miracle-plays:-

> Isaac. All ready, father, even at your will
> And at your bidding I am you by,
> With you to walk over dale and hill;
> At your calling I am ready.
> To the father ever most comely
> It behoveth the child ever obedient to be;
> I will obey, full heartily,
> To every thing that ye bid me.
> Abraham. Now, son, in thy neck this fagot thou take, And this fire bear in thy hand;
> For we must now sacrifice go make, Even after the will of God's command.
> Take this burning brand
> My sweet child, and let us go ;
> There may no man that liveth upon land Have more sorrow than I have woe.

Isa. Father, father, you go right still; I pray now, father, speak unto me.
Abra. My good child. what is thy will? Tell me thy heart, I pray to thee.

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Isa. Father, fire and wood here is plenty; But I can see no sacrifice; What ye will offer fain would I see, That it were done at best advice.
Abra. God shall that ordain that is in heaven, My sweet son, for this offering; A dearer sacrifice may no man name Than this shall be, my dear darling.
Isa. Let be, dear father, your sad weeping; Your heavy looks agrieve me sore. Tell me, father, your great mourning, And I shall seek some help therefor.

Abra. Alas, dear son, for needs must me Even here thee kill, as God hath sent; Thine own father thy death must be,Alas, that ever this bow was bent! With this fire bright thou must be brent; An angel said to me right so ; Alas, my child, thou shalt be shent! Thy careful father must be thy foe.

Isaac yields to what Abraham tells him is the divine command, which ,yet he says makes his heart "cling and cleave as clay."

> Isa. Yet work God's will, father, I you pray, And slay me herc anon forthright; And turn from me your face away My head when that you shall off smite.

Abra. Alas! dear son, I may not choose, I must nceds here my sweet son kill; My dear darling now must me lose, Mine own heart's blood now shall I spill. Yet this deed ere I fulfil, My sweet son, thy mouth I kiss.
Isa. All ready, father, even at your will I do your bidding, as reason is.

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> Abra. Alas! dear son, here is no grace, But need is dead now must thou be. With this kerchief I hide thy face; In the time that I slay thee, Thy lovely visage would I not see, Not for all this world's good.

It is true that the incident here represented is in itself the most touching that can be conceived; but the author of the play has amplified the very brief account in Genesis, and worked it out in a dialogue, which, rude although it be, is full of nature and simple pathos. The conditions of the action are monstrous and incredible, if we leave out the supernatural element; and the situation, unrelieved by the ever-present consciousness that the sacrifice is not to be made, would be too heartrending for contemplation. But an unquestioning belief in the supernatural, even to the literal acceptance of the figurative style and extravagant phraseology of the Orient, was assumed by the writers of miracle-plays. The son's love, submission, and self-devotion, and the father's anguish, are expressed with tenderness and truth. Abraham's silent woe, as they walk together, is exhibited with really dramatic power in Isaac's exclamation, "Father, father, you go right still"; and Abraham's reply, "Tell me thy heart," and his after exclamation, "Alas, that ever this bow was bent!" are fuli of pathos. And when at last the child tells the father to work God's will, yet begs him to turn away his face when he strikes, and Abraham kisses his son, and hides from his own eyes the boy's lovely visage, the interest is wrought up to such a pitch that supernatural intervention is demanded by the holiest instincts of that very nature which supernatural intervention has so pitilessly outraged.
II. Rude, gross, and childish as were the miracleplays, they yet contained the germ of our drama; and from them its development, for a long time slow, but never checked, can be traced up to the sudden splendid maturity of the Elizabethan era. The Coventry series, which we have just been examining, differs from the

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Townley and the Chester series by the introduction of allegorical personages into some of the plays. In the earlier miracle-plays the personages all belonged to the religious history which the plays were written to teach; and the author confined his work to the putting of the scriptural story or saintly legend into the form of dialogue and soliloquy. But as time wore on, virtues, vices, and even modes of mental action, were impersonated, and mingled upon the pageant or the scaffold with patriarchs, apostles, and saints. Thus the eighth of the Coventry series, The Barrenness of Anna, is opened with a kind of prologue or introductory chorus by Contemplation, a character which reappears in the series; and in The Salutation and Conception the Virtues, collectively embodied, with Truth, Pity, and Justice, perform functions like those of the Greek chorus. At last, in The Slaughter of the Innocents, Death (Mors) takes part in the action; and in some of the other plays impersonal Detractors, Accusers, and Consolers also appear. In the three Digby Miracle-plays* there is one formed upon the life of Mary Magdalen, which is interesting in this respect. And in the first of the set which represents the Conversion of St. Paul, it is noteworthy that of two devils which are among the characters, one is named Belial and the other Mercury ! The first is instructed to enter thus: "Here to enter a Dyvel with thunder and fyre, and to avaunce hym selfe saying as folowyth; and his spech spoken to syt downe in a chayre." While he is thus making himself comfortably at home in a devilish way, and complaining of the lack of news, his attendant or messenger comes in, according to this direction: "Here shall entyre a nother devyll, calld Mercury, with a fyering, coming in hast, cryeing and roryng." After a consultation as to the bad way their friend Saul appears to be in, to wit, peril of salvation, body and soul, they both " vanyshe away with a

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fyrye flame and a tempest." The play on The Life of Mary Magdalen, rather a late miracle-play, was intended to be a spectacle of unusual attraction. It required four pageants or scaffolds. Tiberius, Herod, Pilate, and the Devil-personages of apparently equal dramatic dignity -had each his own station before the audience; and the entrance of the latter is thus directed: "Here shal entyr the prynce of devylls in a stage, and hell onder neth that stage." Indeed, the representation of hell, or of hellmouth, into which demons and their victims were sent, was a standing, and, it would seem, a much prized effect in the performance of the miracle-plays. In the account books of the expenses of the Coventry plays, there are many charges for "the repayring of Helmought." To return to the play of Mary Magdalen: A ship appears between the scaffolds; the mariners spy the castle of Mary, which the Devil and the Seven Deadly Sins besiege and capture. Lechery addresses the heroine in a speech, the following extract from which will give a notion of the style of the composition:-

> "Heyl, lady, most lawdabyll of alyauns! Heyl, orient as the sonne in his reflexite! Much pepul be comfortyd be your benignaunt affyauns; Brighter than the bornyd is your bemys of bewte, Most debonarious with your aungelly velycyte."

The appearance of the Seven Deadly Sins and of the Kings of the World, the Flesh, and the Devil in this play as ten distinct characters, is not only very curious, but is a notewortly step toward the next stage of our drama, which now took the allegorical form of the moral-play. Of character and action, in a true dramatic sense, the miracle-plays, with one or two exceptions to be noticed hereafter, had really none. The personages came upon the stage and described themselves, giving a dry catalogue of their qualities, conditions, and relations, and then went formally through the speech and action prescribed for them in Scripture or legend. But when allegorical per-

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sonages began to multiply, as they did in the miracle-plays, they began also to interfere with and modify this slavish adherence to Scripture story and church tradition; until finally these personages, who, it will be seen upon a moment's reflection, represent an extraneous human element, and are, in fact, clumsy embodiments alternately of the mental conditions of the other characters and of the audience, obtained possession of the stage, and completely expelled the angels, saints, and patriarchs, in aid of whose waning power to interest the people they had been created.

In a moral-play, pure and simple, the personages are all embodiments of abstract ideas, and the motive of the play is the enforcement of moral truth as a guide to human conduct. The abstract ideas may be virtues, as Justice, Mercy, Compassion ; or vices, as Avarice, Malice, Falsehood; or a state, condition, or mode of life, as Youth, Old Age, Poverty, Abominable Living; or an embodiment of the human race, as in the character Every Man in the moral-play of that name; or of a part of it, in the play of Lusty Juventus; or of the end of all men, for in these compositions Death itself is not unfrequently embodied. But there were two prominent, and, so to speak, stock characters, which were as essential to a moral-play as Harlequin and Columbine to an old pantomime. These were the Devil and the Vice; the former being an inheritance from the miracle-plays, but the latter a new creation. Exactly why and how this personage came into being with the moral-play, we do not know; but may it not have been with the purpose of having ever present an embodied antithesis to the motive of the play-morality? That the name was derived from the nature of the character would seem manifest without a word, were it not that other and fantastic derivations have been suggested. The Devil was represented as the hideous monster evolved by the morbid religious imagination of the dark ages, having horns, at least one hoof, a tail, a shaggy body, and a visage both frightful and ridiculous. The Vice wore generally, if not always, the costume of the domestic fool, or jester,

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of the period, which is now worn by clowns of the circus. He was at first called the Vice; but as the Vice became a distinct line of character, as much as walking gentleman on our stage, or père noble on the French, his name and his functions were afterward those of Infidelity, Hypocrisy, Desire, and so forth. Sometimes the part of a gallant or bully was written for the Vice, and was named accordingly; and sometimes he was called Iniquity. When he bore this name he would seem to have been not a mere buffoon or clown, making merriment with gibes and antics, but a sententious person, with all his fun; for Shakespeare (Richard III., III. i.) makes the following descriptive mention of this kind of Vice:-

> "Thus, like the formal vice, Iniquity, I moralize two meanings in one word."

But the Vice generally performed the mingled functions of scamp, braggart, and practical joker. There was a conventional make-up for his face. Barnaby Rich, in Adventures of Brusanus, published I592, says that a certain personage had " his beard cut peecke a devant, turnde uppe a little, like the Vice of a playe." He was armed with a dagger or sword of lath, with which he beat the Devil; that personage having his revenge almost invariably, at the end of the play, by taking his tormenter upon his back and running off with him into " hellmought."

Moral-plays were first performed upon the pageants or scaffolds from which they were driving the miracle-plays. But at last it was thought that people might better go to the play than have the play go to them ; and it was found that barns and great halls were more convenient for actors and audience than movable scaffolds. Yet later, people discovered that best of all available places were inn yards, where windows, and galleries, and verandas commanded a view of a court round which the house was built. Sometimes moral-plays were written to be played in the interval between a feast or dinner and a banquet; the banquet having corresponded to what we call the dessert,

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and having been usually served in another room. Hence the name of interlude, which was frequently given to these plays. Yet the name interlude came to be almost confined to a kind of play shorter than a moral-play, and without allegorical characters or significance, and so better suited to the occasion for which it was intended. John Heywood was the master of this kind of play-writing, if indeed he were not its inventor ; but his proper place is at a later period of our little history.

The oldest English moral-play yet discovered exists in manuscript, and is entitled The Castle of Perseverance. It was written about 1450 . The principal character is Humanum Genus, an embodiment of mankind, whose moral enemies, the World, the Flesh, and the Devil, (Mundus, Caro, and Belial,) open the play by a conference in which they boast of their powers. Mankind (Humanum Genus) then appears, and announces that he has just come into the world naked; and immediately a good and a bad angel present themselves, and assert their claims to his confidence. He gives himself up to the latter, who, through the agency of the World, places him in the hands of Voluptuousness and Folly (Voluptas and Stultitia-but let it suffice to say that the characters have Latin names). Backbiter then makes him acquainted with Avarice and the other deadly sins, of whom Luxury-in these plays always a woman-becomes his leman. The good angel sends Confession to him, who is told that he is come too soon, he having then more agreeable matters in hand than the confessing of sin. But at last, by the help of Penitence, Mankind is reclaimed, and got off into the strong Castle of Perseverance in company with the seven Cardinal Virtues. Belial and the Deadly Sins lay siege to the castle, the leader having first berated and beaten his forces for having allowed his prey to escape him.* Belial and

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the Sins are defeated, chiefly by the aid of Charity and Patience, who pelt them with roses from the battlements. But Mankind begins to grow old, and Avarice undermines the castle, and persuades him to leave it. Garcio (a boy) claims all the goods which Mankind has gathered with the aid of Avarice, when Death and the Soul appear, and the latter calls on Pity for help. But the bad angel takes the hero on his back, and sets off with him hellward. The scene changes to heaven, where Pity, Peace, Justice, and Truth plead for him with God, and we are left to infer that Mankind is saved. God speaks the moralizing epiiogue. A rude drawing on the last leaf of the manuscript shows the castle with a bed beneath it for Mankind, and five scaffolds for God, Belial, the World, the Flesh, and Avarice. In another play in the same collection, called Mind Will and Understanding, Anima, the Soul, also appears, and, having been debauched by the three personages who give the play its name, she ""apperythe in most horribul wyse, fowler than a fend," and gives birth to six of the deadly sins according to this direction: "Here rennyt out from undyr the horrybull mantyle of the Soul six small boys in the lyknes of devyllys, and so retorne ageyn." Conscious of her degradation, she goes out with her three seducers, and it is directed that " in the going the Soule syngyth in the most lamentabull wyse, with drawte notes, as yt ys songyn in the passyon wyke." In the end, Mind, Will, and Understanding are converted from their evil ways, to the great joy of Anima.

John Skelton, poet-laureate to Henry VII. and his son, wrote two moral-plays, The Necromancer, and Magnificence. A copy of the latter still exists; and one of

And stryke we fro the now undyr sterre.
Schapyth now your sheldys shene
Yone skallyd skrouts for to skerre
Buske ye now, boys, belyve,
For ever I stond in mekyl stryve
Whyl Mankind is in clene lyve."

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the former was seen and described by Collins, although it has since been lost. The characters are a Necromancer, the Devil, a Notary, Simony, and Avarice; and the action is merely the trial of the last two before the Devil. The Necromancer calls upon the Devil, and opens the court. The prisoners are found guilty, and are sent straightway to holl. The Devil abuses the conjurer, and disappears in flame and smoke. This play, which was played before King Henry VII., at Woodstock, on Palrn Sunday, was printed in 1504 . When Magnificence was produced we do not know, as its title-page is without date; but Skelton mentions it in a poem printed in 1523 . Its purpose is to show the vanity of magnificence. The hero, Magnificence -eaten out of house and home by a raft of friends called Fancy, alias Largess, Counterfeit-countenance, Craftyconveyance, Cloked-collusion, Courtly-abusion, and Folly -falls into the hands of Adversity and Poverty, and finally is taken possession of by Despair and Mischief, who persuade him to commit suicide, which he is about to do, when Good-hope stays his hand, and Redress, Circumspection, and Perseverance sober him down to a humble frame of mind. The piece is intolerably long, and much of it is written in that wearisome verse called "Skeltonic." * To relieve it, some fun is introduced,

> * Of which the following passage is an example:-
> "For counterfet countenaunce knowen am I.
> This worlde is full of my foly.
> I set not by hym a fly
> That cannot counterfet a lye,
> Swere and stare and byde therebye,
> And countenaunce it clenly,
> And defende it manerly.
> A knave will counterfet now a knyght,
> A lurdayne lyke a lorde to fyght,
> A manstrell lyke a man of myght,
> A tappyster lyke a lady bryght.
> Thus make I them wyth thryff to fyght;
> Thus at the last I brynge hym ryght
> To Tyburne, where they hange on hyght."

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which is of the coarsest kind, but which was probably more to the taste of all the poet's audience, high and low, than his heavy moralizing.* Of pure moral-plays the reader has probably had quite enough; but two others may well be noticed, on account of traits peculiar to them. In one, called The longer thou livest the more Foole thou art, the chief character is Moros, a mischievous fool, who enters upon this direction: "Here entreth Moros, counterfaiting a vaine gesture and a foolish countenaunce. synging the foote of many songes as fools were wont." This brings to mind Shakespeare's fools and clowns, who are always singing the foot of many songs; and we see the making them do so was no device of his, but a mere faithful copying of the living models before him; though the lyric sweetness and the art and the wisdom which he puts into their mouths were in most instances, we may be sure, his own. The other moral-play in question, The Marriage of Wit and Seienee, is remarkable not only for its very elaborate and ingenious, though equally dull and wearisome, allegory, but for the fact that it is regularly divided into acts and scenes, which is not the case with even many of the early comedies and tragedies by which the miracle-plays were succeeded. One of the very latest of the moral-plays was The Three Lords and Three Ladies of London, which was written after I588, and printed in

[^25]Fancy. What hast thou found there?
Foly. By god, a lowse.
Crafty-convey. By cockes harte I trow thou lyste.
Foly. By the masse, a spanyshe moght with a gray lyste.
Fancy. Ha, ha, ha, ha, ha, ha!
Crafty-convcy. Cockes armes, it is not so, I trowe.
[Here crafty-convcyance putteth of his gowne.]
Foly. Put on thy gowne agayne for now thou hast lost.
Fancy. Lo, John a bonam, where is thy brayne?

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IF90. But, as its title would indicate, this is in reality a kind of comedy; and it is also remarkable as being writien iot the most part in blank verse.
III. As allegrory had crept into the miracle-plays, and, To: introducing the impersonation of abstract qualities, had wroked a change in their structure and their purpose, which finally produced the moral-play, so personages intencer as satire upon classes and individuals, and as repzesentations of the manners and customs of the day, fool., Year after yeat, more and more the place of the cold and stiff abstractions which filled the stagre in the pure moraljlay, until, at last, comedy, or the ideal representation of human life, appeared in English drama. Thus in Tom Tgler and his Wife, which, according to Kitson, was published in 1578 , and which contains internal evidence that it wizs writem about cight years before that date, the personages are Irm Tyler, his goorl woman, who is a gray mare of the most iormidable kind, Tom Tailor, his friend, Desire, Strife, Sturdy, Tipple, Patience, and the Vice. In The Conflict of Conscience, viritten at about the same date, emong Conscience, Hypocrisy, Tyranny, Avarice, Sensual-sussestirn, and the like, appear four historical jersmages-Francis Spiera, an Italian laviver, who is called Ihilologus, his two sons, and Cardinal Eusebius. Cosilier also mentions a political moral-play written about I5 5 5, called Albion Knight, in which the hero, a knight namod Aibion, is a personification of England, and the motive of which is satire upon the oppression of the commons by the nobles. But beiore this date, and probably in the reign of Edyord VI., Bishop Bale had written his Finge Johan, a play the purpose of which was to further the Feformation, and which partook of the characters of a moral-play, and a dramatic chronicle-history. Indeed, neither the reformers nor their opponents were slow to take advantage of the stage as a means of indoctrinating the people rith their peculiar views; and as the government passed alternately into the hands of Papists and Protestants, plays were suppressed, or dramatic perform-

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ances interdicted altogether, as the good of the ecclesiastical party in power seemed to require. In the very first year of Queen Mary's reign, I558, a politico-religious moral-play, called Respublica, was produced, the purpose of which was to check the Reformation. The kingdom of England is impersonated as Respublica, and, by the author's own admission, Queen Mary herself figures as Nemesis, the goddess of redress and correction.

John Heywood, whose interludes have been already mentioned, produced his first play before the year I52I. Yet, in turning our eyes back two generations to glance at his compositions, we may obtain, perhaps, a more correct view of the gradual development of the English drama than if we had examined them in the order of time. Heywood was attached to the court of Henry VIII. as a singer and player upon the virginals. His interludes were short pieces, about the length of one act of a modern comedy. Humorous in their motive, and dependent for all their interest upon their extravagant burlesque of every-day life, upon the broadest jokes and the coarsest satire, they were, indeed, but a kind of farce. That which is regarded as Heywood's earliest extant production is entitled A mery play between the Pardoner and the Frere, the Curate and neybour Pratte. The Pardoner and the Friar have got leave of the Curate to use his church, the former to show his relics, the latter to preach; both having the same end in view-money. They quarrel as to who shall have precedence, and at last fight. The Curate, brought in by this row between his clerical brethren, attempts to separate and pacify them ; but failing to accomplish this single-handed, he calls the neighbours to his aid. In vain, however; for the Pardoner and the Friar, like man and wife interrupted in a quarrel, unite their forces, and beat the interlopers soundly. After which they depart, and the play ends. In The Four P's, andother of Heywood's interludes, the personages are the Palmer, the Pardoner, the Poticary, and the Pedlar. In this play there is little action; and the four worthies, after gibing at each

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other's professions for a while, set out to see which can tell the biggest lie. After much elaborate and ingenious falsehood the Palmer beats by the simple assertion that he never saw a woman out of patience in his life ; at which his opponents "come down" without another word. The satire in these plays is found in the inconsistency between the characters of the personages and their professions, and particularly in the absurd and ridiculous pretensions of the clergymen as to their priestly functions, and the nature of their relics. In The Pardoner and the Friar, the Pardoner produces " the great too of the holy trynyte," and
" of our Ladye a relyke full good, Her bongrace, which she ware with her French hode, Whan she wente oute al wayes for sonne bornynge ";
also, " of all halowes the blessed jaw bone"; and in The Four P's there is a "buttocke-bone of Pentecoste." And yet Heywood was a stanch Romanist.

There are certain passages in Heywood's plays, which, considering the period at which he wrote, are remarkable for gentuine humour and descriptive power, as well as for spirited and lively versification.* And coarse and indecent

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as his productions must be pronounced, they exhibit more real dramatic power than appears in those of any other playwright of the first half of the sixteenth century.

Heywood founded no school, seems to have had no imitators; there is no line of succession between him and the man who must be regarded as the first writer of genuine English comedy. We have seen that plays in which characters drawn from real life, mingled with the allegorical personages proper to moral-plays, were written as late as 1570 . Such were Tom Tyler and his Wife and The Confict of Conscience, mentioned above. But as early as the year I55I, Nicholas Udall, who became Master of Eton, and afterward of Westminster, had written a play divided into acts and scenes, with a gradually

And all the resedew of the feends
Did laugh thereat ful wel like freends.
But of my friende I sawe no whyt,
Nor durst not axe for her as yet.
Anone all this rout was brought in selens,
And I by an usher brought in presens,
Of Lucyfer: then lowe, as wel I could,
I knelyd whiche he so well alowde,
That thus he beckte, and by saynt Antony
He smyled on me well favouredly,
Bendynge his browss as brode as barne durres,
Shakynge his eares as ruged as burres;
Rolyng his eyes as rounde as two bushels;
Flashynge the fyre out of his nose thryls;
Gnashinge his teeth so vaynglorously,
That me thought tyme to fall to flatery,
Wherwith I tolde as I shall tell.
O plesant pycture! O prince of hell!
Feutred in fashyon abominable
And syns that is inestimable
For me to prayse the worthyly,
I leve of prayse as unworthy
To geve the prays besechynge the
To heare my sewte, and then to be
So good to graunt the thynge I crave."

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developed action tending to a climax, and the characters of which were all ideal representations of actual life; a play which was, in short, a comedy. The play is named after its hero, Ralph Roister Doister. The scene is laid in London, and Ralph, who is a conceited, rattle-pated young fellow about town, and amorous withal, fancies himself in love with Dame Custance, a gay young widow with "a tocher," as he thinks, of a thousand pounds and more. But upon this point Matthew Merry-greek,* his poor kinsman and attendant, a shrewd, mischievous, timeserving fellow, remarks to him, that
> "An hundred pounde of marriage money doubtless, Is ever thirtie pounde sterlyng or somewhat less; So that her thousande pounde yf she be thriftie Is much neere about two hundred and fiftie. Howbeit wowers and widows are never poore."

Which shows that our ways, in this respect at least, have not changed much in three hundred years from those of our forefathers. When the play opens, Custance is betrothed to Garvin Goodluck, a merchant who is then at sea. But Merry-greek crams his master with eagerly swallowed flattery, and puts him in heart by telling him that a man of his person and spirit can win any woman. Ralph encounters three of Custance's hand-maids, old and young, and by flattering words and caresses tries to bring them over to his side. He leaves a letter with one of them for Custance, which is delivered, but not immediately opened. The next day Dobinet Doughty, the merchant's servant, brings a ring and token from Master Goodluck to Dame Custance ; but Madge, having got a scolding for her pains in delivering Ralph's letter, refuses to carry the ring and token. Other servants entering, Dobinet introduces himself as a messenger from the dame's betrothed husband; and they, especially one Tibbet Talk-a-pace,

* Merry-greek was slang three hundred years ago for what we now call a "jolly fellow." So in Troilus and Cressida, I. ii.: " Then she's a merry Greek indeed."


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being delighted at the idea of a wedding, and mistaking the man who is thus to bless the household, fall out as to who is to deliver Ralph's presents. But Tib triumphs by snatching the souvenirs and running out with them to her mistress. A reproof to Tib in her turn ends the second Act. The third opens with a visit by Merry-greek to Dame Custance, that he may find out if the ring and token have worked well for his master's interest. But he only learns from Dame Custance that she is fast betrothed to Goodluck, that she has not even opened Ralph's letter, but knows that it must be from him-
"For no mon there is but a very dolte and lout
That to wowe a widowe would so go about."
She adds that Ralph shall never have her for his wife while he lives. On receiving this news, Ralph declares that he shall then and there incontinently die; when Merry-greek takes him at his word, pretends to think that he is really dying, and calls in a priest and four assistants to sing a mock requiem. Ralph, however, like most disappointed lovers, concludes to live ; and Merry-greek advises him to serenade Custance, and boldly ask her hand. So done; but Custance snubs him, and produces his yet unread letter, which Merry-greek reads to the assembled company with such defiance of the punctuation that the sense is perverted, and all are moved to mirth except Ralph, who in wrath disowns the composition. Dame Custance retires, and Merry-greek, again flattering his master, advises him.to refrain himself awhile from his lady-love, and that then she will seek him, for, as to women,-

> "When ye will they will not; will not ye, then will they."

Ralph threatens vengeance upon the scrivener who copied his letter; but when the penman reads it with the proper pauses, he finds out who is the real culprit; and thus the third Act ends. The fourth opens with the entrance of another messenger from Goodluck to Dame Custance.

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While he is talking to the lady Ralph enters, ostentatiously giving orders about making ready his armor, takes great airs, calls Custance his spouse, and tells Goodluck's messenger to tell his master that " his betters be in place now." The angered Dame Custance summons maid and man, and turns Ralph and Merry-greek out of doors; but the latter soon slips back, and tells her that his only purpose is to make sport of Ralph, who is about returning armed, " to pitch a field " with his female foes. Roister Doister soon enters armed with pot, pan, and popgun, and accompanied by three or four assistants. But the comely dame, who seems to be a tall woman of her hands, stands her ground, and, aided by her maids, " pitches into" the enemy, and with mop and besom puts him to ignominious flight ; in which squabble the knave Merry-greek, pretending to fight for his rich kinsman, manages to belabor him soundly. At the beginning of the fifth Act Garvin Goodluck makes his appearance, and Sim Suresby tells him of what he saw and heard at his visit to Dame Custance. Goodluck is convinced of the lady's fickleness. She arrives, and would welcome him tenderly; but of course there is trouble. Finally, however, on the evidence of Tristram Trusty, she is freed from suspicion; and Ralph, petitioning for pardon, is invited to the wedding supper, and the play is at an end. It is rather a rude performance ;* but it contains all the elements of a regular comedy

[^27]of the romantic school; and it must be confessed that many a duller one has been presented to a modern audience.

Yet ruder and coarser than Ralph Roister Doister, and
Merry. Will ye doe no harme in deede? Shall I trust your worde? Roister. By Roister Doister's fayth, I will speak, but in borde. Sure. Let us hearken them; somewhat there is, I feare it. Roister. I will speake out aloude, I care not who heare it.Sirs, sec that my harncsse, my tergat, and my shield, Be made as bright now as when I was last in field,
As white as I shoulde to warre againe tomorroweFor sicke shall I be but I worke some folke sorrowe. Therefore see that all shine as bright as sainct George, Or as doth a key newly come from the smith's forge. I woulde have my sworde and harnesse to shine so bright That I might therewith dimme mine enimies sight; I woulde have it cast beames as fast, I tell you playne, As doth the glittering grass after a showre of raine. And see that, in case I shoulde have to come to arminge, All things may be ready at a moment's warning.
For such a chaunce may chaunce in an houre, do ye heare?
Merry. As perchaunce shall not chaunce againe in seven yeare.
Roister. Now draw we neare to hir, and heare what shal be sayde.
Merry. But I woulde not have you make hir too muche afrayde.
Roister. Well founde, sweete wife (I trust) for al this your soure looke
Cust. Wife! Why cal ye me wife?
Sure.
Wife! this geare goeth acrook.
Merry. Nay, Mistresse Custance, I warrant you our letter Is not as we redde e'en nowe, but much better; And where ye half stomaked this gentleman afore, For this same letter ye wyll love him nowe therefore; Nor it is not this letter though ye were a queene That shoulde breake marriage betweene you twaine, I weene.
Cust. I did not refuse hym for the letter's sake.
Roister. Then ye are content me for your husbande to take.
Cust. You for my husbande to take! Nothing lesse truely.
Roister. Yea, say so sweete spouse, afore strangers hardly.
Merry. And though I have here his letter of love with me, Yet his rings and his tokens he sent keepe safe with ye.
Cust. A mischief take his tokens, and him, and thee too.

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less amusing, is Gammer Gurton's Needle, which, until 1818, was supposed to be the earliest extant English comedy, but which was not written until about thirty years later than Udall's play, it having been first performed, as Malone reasonably concludes, at Christ College, Cambridge, in I566. Its author was John Still, afterward Bishop of Bath and Wells, who was born in 1543. The personages in this play are all, with two or three exceptions, rustics, and their language is a broad, provincial dialect. The plot turns upon the simple incident of Gammer Gurton's loss of her needle while she is mending her servant Hodge's breeches. Sharp is the hunt through five acts after this needful instrumentHodge even pretending to have an interview with the Devil upon the subject. But the needle is not found until Hodge, having on the mended garment, is hit " a good blow on the buttocks" by the bailiff, whose services have been called in; when the clown discovers that Gammer Gurton's needle, like Old Rapid's in the Road to Ruin, does not always stick in the right place. The second Act of this farrago of practical jokes and coarse humour opens with that jolly old drinking-song beginning,
> "I cannot eat but little meat, My stomach is not good,"

which may be found in many collections of lyric verse.
IV. Whether it was that moral-plays satisfied for a long time our forefathers' desire for serious entertainments, and furnished them sufficient occasion for that reflection upon the graver interests and incidents of human life which it is tragedy's chief function to suggest, or whether the public, wearied by the sententious gravity of the moral-plays (which, however, their authors had often sought to retrieve by humorous character and incident), demanded, on the introduction of real life into the drama, that only its light and merry side should be presented, it

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is certain that comedy entered upon the English stage much in advance of her elder sister. It is barely possible that a play upon the story of Romeo and Juliet was performed in London before the year 1562 ; but the earliest tragedy extant in our language is Ferrex and Porrex, or Gorboduc, all of which was probably written by Thomas Sackville, Earl of Dorset, but to the first three acts of which Thomas Norton has a disputed claim. This play is founded on events in the fabulous chronicles of Britain. The principal personages are Gorboduc, King of Britain, about B. C. 600, Videna, his wife, and Ferrex and Porrex, his sons. But nobles, councillors, parasites, a lady, and messengers make the personages number thirteen. The first Act is occupied with the division of the kingdom by Gorboduc to his sons, and the talk thereupon. The second, with the fomenting of a quarrel between the brothers for complete sovereignty. The third, with the events of a civil war, in which Porrex kills Ferrex. In the fourth, the queen, who most loved Ferrex, kills Porrex while he is asleep at night in his chamber; the people rise in wrath and avenge this murder by the death of both Videna and Gorboduc. The fifth Act is occupied by a bloody suppression of this rebellion by the nobles, who, in their turn, fall into dissension ; and the land, without a rightful king, and rent by civil strife, becomes desolate. This tragedy was written for one of the Christmas festivals of the Inner Temple, to be played by the gentlemen of that society; and by desire of Queen Elizabeth it was performed by them at White-hall on the I8th of January, 1561. It is plain that the author of this play meant to be very elegant, decorous, and classical; and he succeeded. Of all the stirring events upon which the tragedy is built. not one is represented; all are told. Even Ferrex and Porrex are not brought together on the stage, and Videna does not meet either of them before the audience after the first act. Each act is introduced by a dumb show, intended to be symbolical of what will follow-a common device on cur early stage which was ridiculed by Shake-

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speare in the third Act of Hamlet;* and each act, except the last, is followed by a moralizing and explanatory chorus recited by " four ancient and sage men of Britain."

Ferrex and Porrex is remarkable as being the first English play extant in blank verse, and probably it was the first so written. It is to be wondered that even in this respect it was ever taken as a model. For although Sir Philip Sidney in his Defence of Poesy, finding fault with Ferrex and Porrex for its violation of the unities of time and place, admits that it is so " full of stately speeches and well sounding phrases, climbing to the height of Seneca his stile, and full of notable morality, which it doth most delightfully teach," yet it may be safely said that another play so lifeless in movement, so commonplace in thought, so utterly undramatic in motive, so oppressively didactic in language, so absolutely without distinction of character among its personages, cannot be found in our dramatic literature. From Ferrex and Porrex we turn even to the miracle-plays and moral-plays with relief, if not with pleasure. Some notion of its tediousness may be gathered from the fact that it closes with a speech one hundred lines in length, and that the first act is chiefly occupied with three speeches by three councillors, which to-
*" The Order and Signification of the Domme Shew before the fourth Act.
"First the musick of howeboies began to playe, during which came from under the stage, as though out of hell, three furies, Alecto, Megera, and Ctisiphone clad in blacke garmentes sprinkled with bloud and flames, their bodies girt with snakes, their heds spred with serpentes in stead of heire, the one bearing in hand a snake, the other a whip, and the third a burning firebrand; ech driving before them a king and a queene, which moved by the furies unnaturally had slaine their owne children. The names of the kings and queenes were these, Tantalus, Medea, Athamas, Ino, Cambises, Althea; after that the furies and these had passed about the stage thrise, they departed, and than the musick ceased: hereby was signified the unnatural murders to follow, that is to say, Porrex, slaine by his owne mother; and of king Gorboduc and queene Videna, killed by their owne subjects."

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gether make two hundred and sixty verses.* This play demands notice because it is our first tragedy, our first

* The following passage, in which the death of Porrex is announced, is a favourable example of the style of this play:-
Marcella. Oh where is ruth or where is pitie now?
Whether is gentle hart and mercy fled?
Are they exiled out of our stony brestes,
Never to make returne? is all the world
Drowned in blood and sonke in crueltie?
If not in woman mercy may be found
If not (alas) within the mother's brest
To her owne childe to her owne flesh and blood;
If ruthe be banished thence, if pitie there
May have no place, if there no gentle hart
Do live and dwell, where should we seek it then?
Gorboduc. Madame (alas) what means your wofull tale?
Marcella. O silly woman I! why to this houre
Have kinde and fortune this deferred my breath,
That I should live to see this dolefull day?
Will ever wight beleve that such hard hart
Could rest within the cruell mother's brest,
With her owne hande to slaye her only sonne?
But out (alas) these eyes behelde the same,
They saw the driery sight, and are become
Most ruthfull recordes of the bloody fact.
Porrex (alas) is by his mother slaine,
And with her hand and wofull thing to tell;
While slumbering on his carefull bed he restes,
His hart stabde in with knife is reft of life.
Gorboduc. O Eubulus, oh draw this sword of ours,
And pearce this hart with speed! O hateful light,
O lothsome life, O sweete and welcome death,
Deare Eubulus, worke this we thee besech!
Eubulus. Pacient your grace, perhappes he liveth yet,
With wound receaved, but not of certain death.
Gorboduc. O let us then repayre unto the place,
And see if Porrex live, or thus be slaine.
Marcella. Alas he liveth not, it is to true,
That with these eyes of him a perelesse prince,
Sonne to a king and in the flower of youth,
Even with a twinkle a senselesse stock I saw.


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play written in blank verse, but for no other reason. It had no perceptible effect upon the English drama, and marks no stage in its progress. In that regard it might as well have been written in Greece and in Greek, or in ancient British by Gorboduc himself; for in either case its motive and plan could not then have been more foreign to the genius of English dramatic literature. And it is now proper to say that translated plays adapted from Greek and Latin authors, of which there were many performed in the earlier part of Elizabeth's reign, are here passed by without notice, not merely because they were translations and adaptations, but because, not being an outgrowth of the English character, they were entirely without influence upon the development of the English drama, in an account of which they have no proper place. The Supposes translated from Ariosto by George Gascoigne, and acted at Gray's Inn in I566, must be mentioned as the earliest extant play in English prose. The fact is significant indeed, that none of the many plays written especially for the court and for the learned societies and the elegant people of that day have left any traces even of a temporary influence upon our stage. The English drama, unlike that of France, had its germ in the instincts, and its growth with the growth, of the whole English people.

Up to, and even past, the Elizabethan era, the English drama was rude in style and in construction, gross in sentiment and in language. Its personages had little character or keeping, its incidents little probability or connection. A true dramatic style, by which character is evolved and emotion revealed, was yet unformed. The cultivated people of that time saw these defects, except the last, but devised for them the wrong remedy. With their heads full of the ancient classics, they judged their own theatre by a foreign standard, to which they would have forced it to conform.* In this English drama, rude,

* George Whetstone, in the dedication of his "Promos and Cassandra," the incidents of which Shakespeare used in his Measure


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coarse and confused, there was yet an inherent vitality. It was native to the English mind, and it sought to present even in tragedy an idealized picture of real life which had never yet been attempted.
for Measure, and which was published in 1578, gives us the following criticism upon the Englisl1 drama of that day: "The Englishman in this qualitie is most vaine, indiscreete, and out of order: he first groundes his worke on impossibilities: then, in three howers, ronnes he throwe the woride: marryes, gets children, makes children men, men to conquer kingdomes, murder monsters, and bringeth Gods from Heaven, and fetcheth divils from Hel. And (that which is worst) their ground is not so imperfect as their workinge indiscreete; not waying, so the people laugh, though they laugh them (for their follies) to scorn. Manye tymes, to make myrthc, they make a clowne companion with a Kinge: in theyr grave Councils they allow the adrice of fools; yea, they use one order of speach for all persons, a grose Indecorum," etc.

Sir Plilip Sidney, in a passage of his Defence of Pocsy (written about 1583 ) which has been often quoted, but which is too important to be omitted here, says: "Our Tragedies and Comedies are not without cause cried out against, observing rules neither of honest civilitie nor skilfull Poetrie. Excepting Gorboduck (againe I say of those that I have seene) which notwithstanding, as it is full of statelie speeches, and well sounding phrases, climing to the height of Sencca his stile, and as full of notable moralitie, which it doth most delightfully teach, and so obtaine the verie end of Poesie, yet in truth it is rery defections in the circumstances. which grieves me, because it might not remaine as an exact modell of all Tragedies. For it is faulty in place and time, the two necessarie companions of all corporall actions. For where the Stage should alway represent but one place, and the uttermost time presupposed in it, should be both by Aristotle's precept and common reason, but one day, there is both many dayes and manie places artificially imagined. But if it bee so in Gorboduck, how much more in all the rest, where you shall have Asia of the onc side, and Africk of the other, and so many other under kingdoms, that the Player, when he comes in, must ever begin with telling where he is, or else the tale will not be conceived. Now you shall have three ladies walke to gather flowers, and then we must believe the stage to be a garden. By

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Our drama, advancing through centuries, had slowly reached this stage of growth, where if its development had been stayed, its history would have been almost without interest, except to the literary antiquary, when suddenly its homely, uncouth bud burst into flower so sweet, of beauty so glorious, so perennial, as ever after to gladden, to perfume, and to adorn the ages. The rapidity of this transition is astonishing. It is almost like magical transformation. In less than twenty years from the time when the best plays yet produced by English authors were intrinsically unworthy of a place in literature, the English stage had become illustrious.

This change was brought about by the great and increasing taste of the day for dramatic performances, which called into the service of the theatre every needy hand that held a ready pen. A crowd of young men left the learned professions in London, or abandoning rustic homes, flocked thither to make money by writing plays. Among these men seven attained distinction; and yet not
and by we hear newes of a shipwrack in the same place; then we are to blame if we accept it not for a rocke. Upon the backe of that comes out a hideous monster with fire and smoke, and then the miserable beholders are bound to take it for a cave; while, in the meantime, two armies flie in, represented with four swords and bucklers, and then what hard hart will not receive it for a pitched field? Now, of time they are much more liberal; for ordinarie it is that two young Princes fall in love: after many traverses she is got with child, delivered of a fair boy; he is lost, groweth a man, falleth in love, and is ready to get another child, and all this in two houres' space; which how absurd it is in sense, even sense may imagine and art hath taught, and all ancient examples justified, and at this daye the ordinarie players in Italie wil not erre in . . . But besides these grosse absurdities how all their Playes be neither right Tragedies nor right Comedies, mingling Kings and Clownes not because the matter so carieth it, but thrust in the Clowne by head and shoulders, to play a part in Majestical matters with neither decencie nor discretion; so as neither the admiration and commiseration, nor right sportfulness is by their mongrel Tragi-comedy obtained."

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only so inferior, but of so little intrinsic enduring interest, was the work of six of them, that, with one and hardly one exception, their names would not have been known outside of purely literary circles, but for the seventh. They were Thomas Kyd, John Lilly, George Peele, George Chapman, Robert Greene, Christopher Marlowe, and William Shakespeare. Of the six, the oldest whose age is known to us was only ten years the senior of the seventh, and the most eminent, Marlowe, was born but two years before him.* Shakespeare got to work in London very early in life. He was using his pen as a dramatic writer there before he was twenty-four years old. These men were therefore in both the strictest and in the broadest sense his contemporaries-his contemporaries as men and as authors. The mere fact that he found four of them, Kyd, Peele, Green, and Marlowe, in the front rank of dramatic writers on his arrival in London, does not properly entitle them to consideration as his predecessors in English drama. Being so absolutely contemporaneous with him in age, they could be justly regarded as his predecessors only as having been the founders of a school of which he was an eminent disciple, or to which he had established a rival or a successor. But he stood to them in neither of these relations. He and they were all, with a single exception, of one school, of which neither one of them was the founder. With this one exception these men were all striving to do the same thing, at the same time, in the same way. The time had come when it was to be done, and the time brought the men who were to do it, each according to his ability. And not only were their aims identical, but there is the best reason, short of competent contemporary testimony, for believing that four of them, including Shakespeare, were colaborers upon still existing works.

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The exception to this unity of purpose was John Lilly, the author of Euphues. Lilly is known in dramatic literature as the author of eight comedies written to be performed at the court of Elizabeth.* They are in all respects opposed to the genius of the English drama. They do not even pretend to be representations of human life and human character, but are pure fantasy pieces, in which the personages are a heterogeneous medley of Grecian gods and goddesses, and impossible, colourless creatures with sublunary names, all thinking with one brain, and speaking with one tongue-the conceitful, crotchety brain and the dainty, well-trained tongue of clever, witty John Lilly. They are all in prose, but contain some pretty, fanciful verses called songs, which are as unlyrical in spirit as the plays in which they appear are undramatic. From these plays Shakespeare borrowed a few thoughts; but they exercised no modifying influence upon his genius, nor did they at all conform to that of the English drama, upon which they are a mere grotesque excrescence. Chapman, one of the elder and the stronger of the six above named, is not known as the author, even in part, of any play older than Shakespeare's earliest performances He probably entered upon dramatic composition at a somewhat later period in life than either of the others; and as a dramatist he is properly to be passed over in this place, as not even having been Shakespeare's predecessor, in the mere order of time, by even that very brief period which may be admitted in the cases of Peele, Greene, and Marlowe. The styles of these three dramatists are commented upon, and extracts from their plays are given, in an Essay upon the Authorship of

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King Henry the Sixth, where they are particularly considered in their relation to Shakespeare. I will, however, notice here the opinion generally received, that Marlowe's talents were very far superior to those of either Greene or Peele-a judgement to which I cannot entirely assent, as far as Peele is concerned. Peele's plays, it is true, lack some of Marlowe's fire and fury; but they are also without much of his fustian. Peele's characters are less strongly marked that Marlowe's; but they are also less absurd and extravagant, and, in my opinion, they are equally well discriminated, though that is little praise. Peele's David and Bathsheba is a play which for the genuineness of its feeling, if not for the harmony of its verse, Marlowe might have been glad to own; and The Battle of Alcanzar is in the same furious, bloody vein with his Tamburlaine, and equal, if not superior, to it in sense and keeping. It is also noteworthy that the Prologue to Peele's Arraignment of Paris, which was published in 1584, when Marlowe was but twenty years old, and before he had taken his Bachelor's degree at Cambridge, is, for its union of completeness of measure with variety of pause, unsurpassed by any dramatic blank verse, that of one play excepted, which was written before the time of Shakespeare. The critical reader who is familiar with Marlowe's works must constantly remember that there is cvery reason for believing that Edward II.-his best play in versification no less than in style, sentiment, and character-was written after 1590, and after the production of The First Part of the Contention and The True Tragedy.

With regard to these dramatists there only remains to be noticed the claim which has been set up for one of them, Marlowe, that he was the first who used blank verse upon our public stage, and "the first who harmonized it with variety of pause." As to which I will only say, briefly, that although it is probably true that he in his Tamburlaine made one of the earliest efforts to bring blank verse into vogue in plays written for the general

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public, and to substitute the roll and flow of measured rhythm for the feebler and more monotonous music of rhyme in dramatic poetry intended for uncultured as well as cultured ears, I cannot find in this endeavor reason for giving him the credit due to an innovator, much less that which belongs to an inventor. Blank verse, as we have seen, was used in plays produced for special occasions and audiences many years before Marlowe wrote; and he, writing only for the general theatre-going public, seems merely to have used, and somewhat improved, an instrument which he found made to his hand. Among the dramatists who preceded Marlowe in the use of blank verse on the public stage is one who, in my judgement, wrote it with a spirit and a freedom which Marlowe himself hardly excelled. This dramatist is the author of Jeronimo. A continuation of this play, called The Spanish Tragedy, or Hieronimo is mad again, which we know, upon Thomas Heywood's testimony, was written by Thomas Kyd, was one of the most popular plays of the Elizabethan era. Hitherto it has been assumed that Kyd was also the author of Jeronimo. But a comparison of the two plays shows them to be so unlike in all respects-in versification, in language, in dramatic characterization, and in all distinctive poetic traits-that it seems very clear that the fact that Kyd did write The Spanish Tragedy is conclusive evidence against his authorship of the elder play. It would be difficult for two contemporary dramatic poets, in their treatment of the same or a very similar subject, to produce two works more unlike in all particulars. The Spanish Tragedy had been written, as we know upon Ben Jonson's testimony, long enough before 1587 to be then an old story. We may be equally sure that the play of which it is a continuation had preceded it some years. In structure Jeronimo bears strong traces of the preElizabethan era. It opens with a dumb show explanatory of the situation of the characters before the action commences; the action does not "grow to a point," and the play consequently reads less like a tragedy than an

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episode of history dramatized with little art; quite one half of the play is in rhyme; and among its dramatis personce one is allegorical-Revenge. This personage and the Ghost of Andrea, the slain lover who appears with him in the last scene of Jcronimo, are also used by Kyd in The Spanish Tragedy; but in that they merely form a chorus, and neither mingle in nor influence the action. The traits of Jcronimo just mentioned, and particularly the first and last, are indicative of a period earlier than that known as the Elizabethan era; while the versification and characterization belong to that era, and indeed would disgrace none of its dramatists except Shakespeare himself, and are hardly unworthy of his prentice hand. Dumb shows went out as Elizabethan dramatists began to occupy the stage; and allegory is the distinctive trait of the period of the moral-plays, although, as we have seen, it yielded place gradually to real life. The use of dumb show, and especially the introduction of an allegorical character among the dramatis personce of a tragedy of real life written in blank verse, of which no other example is known to me, distinctly mark the transitional type of Jeronimo, which may be regarded as a fine and characteristic example of English tragedy in the stage of its development immediately preceding that which produced Shakespeare. And indeed this play and its continuation, in spite of the crudeness of both and the childishness of the latter, seem to have left stronger traces of influence upon Shakespeare's works than any other, or than all others, written by his predecessors or his contemporaries.

The English drama, and not the stage and the theatres, before the time of Shakespeare, is the subject of this account; but it may be fitly closed with a very brief description of the playhouses and the theatrical management of his early years. The general use of inn-yards as places of dramatic amusement has been already mentioned in the course of remarks upon the moral-play; and when Shakespeare arrived in London, at least three inns there -the Bull, the Cross Keys, and the Bell Savage-were

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thus regularly occupied. But, by a striking coincidence, with the Elizabethan era of our drama came theatres proper, buildings specially adapted to the needs of actors and audiences. Shakespeare found three such in the me-tropolis-four, if to The Theatre, The Curtain, and Blackfriars, we are to add Paris Garden, where bear-baiting shared the boards with comedy. All the theatres of Shakespeare's time were probably built of wood and plaster. Of the three above mentioned, the Blackfriars belonged to the class called private theatres-we know not. why, unless because the private theatres were entirely roofed in, while in the others the pit was uncovered, and of course the stage and the gallery exposed to the external air. A flag was kept flying from a staff on the roof during the performance. Inside there were the stage, the pit, the boxes and galleries, much as we have them nowadays. In the public theatres, the pit, separated from the stage by paling, was called the yard, and was without seats. The price of admission to the pit or yard varied, according to the pretensions of the theatre, from twopence, and even a penny, to sixpence; that to the boxes or rooms from a shilling to two shillings, and even, on extraordinary occasions, half a crown.

The performances usually commenced at three o'clock in the afternoon; but the theatre appears to have been always artificially lighted, in the body of the house by cressets and upon the stage by large rude chandeliers. The small band of musicians sat, not in an orchestra in front of the stage, but, it would seem, in a balcony projecting from the proscenium. People went early to the theatre for the purpose of securing good places, and while waiting for the play to begin, they read, gamed, smoked, drank, and cracked nuts and jokes together. Those who set up for wits, gallants, or critics, liked to appear upon the stage itself, which they were allowed to do all through the performance, lying upon the rushes with which the stage was strewn, or sitting upon stools, for which they paid an extra price.

Pickpockets, when detected at the theatre, seem to have been put in an extempore pillory on the stage, among the wits and gallants, at whose tongues, if not whose hands, they doubtless suffered. Kempe, the actor, in his Nine Daies' Wonder, A. D. i600, compares a man to "such a one as we tye to a poast on our stage for all the people to wonder at when they are taken pilfering."

Certain very peculiar dramatic companies should not be passed by entirely without notice. They were composed altogether of children. The boys of St. Paul's choir, those of Westminster school, and a special company called the Children of the Revels, were the most important. The first two acted under the direction of the Master of St. Paul's choir and of the school, the last under that of the Master of the Revels. Their performances were much admired, and the companies of adult actors at the theatres were piqued, and perhaps touched in pocket, by the public favour of these younkers. Shakespeare shows this by a speech which he puts into Rosencranz's mouth (Hamlet, II. ii.). Their audiences were generally composed of the higher classes, and they acted plays of established reputation only. This appears from the following passage in Jack Drum's Entertainment, published in I6OI, which was itself played by the children of Paul's, as appears by its title-page :-

Sir Edward. I sawe the Children of Pawles last night, And troth they pleas'd me prettie, prettie well. The Apes in time will do it handsomely.
Planct. I' faith I like the Audience that frequenteth there, With much applause. A man shall not be choakte With the stench of Garlicke, nor be pasted To the barny lackett of a Beer-brewer.
Brabant, Jn. 'Tis a good gentle audience, and I hope the Boyes Will come one day into the Courte of Requests.
Brabant, Sig. I, and they had good playes, but they produce Such mustie fopperies of antiquitie As do not sute the humorous ages backs With cloathes in fashion.

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The performance was announced by three flourishes of trumpets. At the third sounding, the curtain, which was divided in the middle from top to bottom, and ran upon rods, was drawn, and after the prologue the actors entered. The prologue was spoken by a person who wore a long black cloak and a wreath of bays upon his head. The reason of which costume was, that prologues were first spoken by the authors of plays themselves, who wore the poetical costume of the middle ages, such as we see it in the old portraits of Ariosto, Tasso, and others. When the authors themselves no longer appeared as prologue, the actors who were their proxies assumed their professional habit. Poor Robert Greene, the debauched playwright and poet, begged upon his miserable deathbed that his coffin might be strewed with bays; and the cobbler's wife, at whose house he died, respected this clinging of the wretched author to his right to Parnassian honors, and fulfilled his last request. In the earlier part of the Elizabethan era it was common for all the actors who were to take parts in the play to appear in character and pass over the stage before the performance began. This was a relic of the days of the miracle-plays and moral-plays. In the course of the play he who played the clown would favor the audience with outbreaks of extemporaneous wit and practical joking, in virtue of a time-honoured privilege claimed by the clowns to "speak more than was set down for them." Indeed, extempore dialogue seems to have been permitted to, if not expected from, the representatives of comic characters. Such stage directions as the following from Greene's Tu quoque (A. D. I6I4) are not uncommon: "Here they two talke and rayle what they list; then Rash speakes to Staynes." "All speake. UUd's foot dost thou stand by and do nothing? come talke and drown her clamors. Here they all talke and Joyce gives over weeping and Exit."

Between the acts there was dancing and singing; and after the play, a jig, which was a kind of comic solo sung, said, acted, and danced by the clown to the accom-

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paniment of his own pipe and tabor. Each day's exhibition was closed by a prayer for the Queen, offered by all the actors kneeling.

The stage exhibited no movable scenery. It was hung with painted cloths and arras; when tragedy was played, the hangings were sometimes, at least, sable; over the stage was a blue canopy, called " the heavens." Although there was no proper scenery, there was ample provision of rude properties, such as towers, tombs, dragons, painted pasteboard banquets, and the like. Furniture was used, of course, and was, in many cases, the only means of indicating a change of scene, which, indeed, in most cases was left to the imagination of the audience, helped, it might be, as Sir Philip Sidney says, if the supposed scene were Thebes, by "seeing Thebes written in great letters on an old door." * Machinery and trap-doors were freely used, and gods and goddesses were let down from and hoisted up to the heavens in chairs moved by pulleys and
> * Such stage directions as the following show how very rude were the devices for indicating a change of scene in the latter part of the 16th and the early part of the 17 th centuries:-
> "Enter Sybilla lying in child bed with her child lying by her." Heywood's Golden Age, i6ir.
> "Enter a shoemaker sitting on the stage at work. Jenkins to him."

> Greene's George-a-Greene, 1599.

In the following passage the audience were evidently expected to " make believe" that a few steps across the stage was a going to the town's end :-
Shoemaker. Come, sir, will you go to the town's end now, sir?
Jenkins. Ay sir, come.-Now we are at the town's end; what say you now?

Idem, ut supra.
In the plays of that period, after a murder or killing in combat, the direction is generally to the survivor, "Exit with the body." There was no device by which the dead body could be shut out from the audience, that the next scene might go on without its presence.
tackle that creaked and groaned in the most sublunary and mechanical manner. At the back of the stage was a balcony, which, like the furniture in thc Duke Aranza's cottage served "a hundred uses." It was inner room, upper room, window, balcony, battlements, hill side, Mount Olympus, any place, in fact, which was supposed to be scparated from and above the scene of the main action. It was in this balcony, for instance, that Sly and his attendants sat while they witnessed the performance of The Taming of the Shrear. The wardrobes of the principal theatres werc rich, varied, and costly. It was customary to buy for stage use slightly worn court dresses and the gorgeous robes used at coronations. Near the end of the last century, Steevens tells us, there was " yet in the wardrobe of Covent Garden Theatrc a rich suit of clothes that once belonged to James I." Steevens saw it worn by the performer of Justice Greely in Massinger's New Way to pay Old Debts. The Allen papers and Henslowe's Diary inform us fully upon this point. In the latter there is a memorandum of the payment of $f_{4}$ I4s., equal to $\$ 120$, for a single pair of hose; and by the former we sce that $f_{16}$, equal to $\$ 400$, was the price of one embroidered velvet cloak, and 520 ros., equal t \$ $\$ 512$, that of another. Costume of conventional significancc was also worn ; for Hcnslowe records the purchase at the large price of $\mathrm{f}_{3}$ Ios. of "a robe for to goo invisibell."

A comparison of the prices paid for dresses, with those paid for the plays in which they were worn, shows us that the absence of scenery and of stage decoration, to which it has been supposed we owe much of the rich imagery in the Elizabethan drama, was due only to poverty of resource, and not to the higher value set by the public, and consequently by the theatrical proprietors, upon the intellectual part of their entertainment. The highest sum which Henslowe records as having been paid by him before 1600 , as the full price of a play, is 68 - not half what was given for a cloak that might have been worn in it; the lowest sum is $f_{4}-$ not as much as the hero's hose

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might have cost. By 1613 , theatrical competition had raised the price of a play by a dramatist of repute to $£ 20$, which, being equal to $\$ 500$ of the present day, was perhaps quite as much as the proprietors could afford, and was not an inadequate payment for such plays as went to make up the bulk of the dramatic productions of the day. Happily, nearly all of these have perished; and of those which have survived, the best claim the attention of posterity only because Shakespeare lived when they were written.

## Culmination of the Drama in Shakespeare.

## Culmination of the Drama in Shakespeare.

## BY THOMAS SPENCER BAYNES.

The dramatic conditions of a national theatre were, at the outset of Shakespeare's career, more complete, or rather in a more advanced state of development, than the playlouses themselves or their stage accessories. If Shakespeare was fortunate in entering on his London work amidst the full tide of awakened patriotism and public spirit, he was equally fortunate in finding ready to his hand the forms of art in which the rich and complex life of the time could be adequately expressed. During the decade in which Shakespeare left Stratford the playwright's art had undergone changes so important as to constitute a revolution in the form and spirit of the national drama. For twenty years after the accession of Elizabeth the two roots whence the English drama sprang -the academic or classical, and the popular, developed spontaneously in the line of mysteries, moralities and in-terludes-continued to exist apart, and to produce their accustomed fruit independently of each other.

The popular drama, it is true, becoming more secular and realistic, enlarged its area by collecting its materials from all sources-from novels, tales, ballads, and histories, as well as from fairy mythology, local superstitions, and folk-lore. But the incongruous materials were, for the most part, handled in a crude and semi-barbarous way, with just sufficient art to satisfy the cravings and clamours of unlettered audiences. The academic plays, on the

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other hand, were written by scholars for courtly and cultivated circles, were acted at the universities, the inns of court, and at special public ceremonials, and followed for the most part the recognised and restricted rules of the classic drama. But in the third decade of Elizabeth's reign another dramatic school arose intermediate between the two elder ones, which sought to combine in a newer and higher form the best elements of both. The main impulse guiding the efforts of the new school may be traced indirectly to a classical source. It was due, not immediately to the masterpieces of Greece and Rome, but to the form which classical art had assumed in the contemporary drama of Italy, France, and Spain, especially of Italy, which was that earliest developed and best known to the new school of poets and dramatists. This southern drama, while academic in its leading features, had nevertheless modern elements blended with the ancient form. As the Italian epics, following in the main the older examples, were still charged with romantic and realistic elements unknown to the classical epic, so the Italian drama, constructed on the lines of Seneca and Platus, blended with the severer form, essentially romantic features. With the choice of heroic subjects, the orderly development of the plot, the free use of the chorus, the observance of the unities, and constant substitution of narrative for action were united the vivid colouring of poetic fancy and diction, and the use of materials and incidents derived from recent history and contemporary life.

The influence of the Italian drama on the new school of English playwrights was, however, very much restricted to points of style and diction of rhetorical and poetical effect. It helped to produce among them the sense of artistic treatment, the conscious effort after higher and more elaborate forms and vehicles of imaginative and passionate expression. For the rest, the rising English drama, in spite of the efforts made by academic critics to narrow its range and limit its interests, retained and thoroughly vindicated its freedom and independence.

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The central characteristics ot the new school are sufficiently explained by the fact that its leading representatives were all of them scholars and poets, living by their wits and gaining a somewhat precarious livelihood amidst the stir and bustle, the temptations and excitement, of concentrated London life. The distinctive note of their work is the reflex of their position as academic scholars working under poetic and popular impulses for the public theatres. The new and striking combination in their dramas of elements hitherto wholly separated is but the natural result of their attainments and literary activities. From their university training and knowledge of the ancients they would be familiar with the technical requirements of dramatic art, the deliberate handling of plot, incident, and character, and the due subordination of parts essential for producing the effect of an artistic whole. Their imaginative and emotional sensibility, stimulated by their studies in southern literature, would naturally prompt them to combine features of poetic beauty and rhetorical finish with the evolution of character and action; while from the popular native drama they derived the breadth of sympathy, sense of humour, and vivid contact with actual life which gave reality and power to their representations.
The leading members of this group or school were Kyd, Greene, Lodge, Nash, Peele, and Marlowe, of whom, in relation to the future development of the drama, Greene, Peele, and Marlowe are the most important and influential. They were almost the first poets and men of genius who devoted themselves to the production of dramatic pieces for the public theatres. But they all helped to redeem the common stages from the reproach their rude and boisterous pieces had brought upon them, and make the plays represented poetical and artistic as well as lively, bustling and popular. Some did this rather from a necessity of nature and stress of circumstance than from any higher aim or deliberately formed resolve. But Marlowe, the greatest of them, avowed the redemption of the com-

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mon stage as the settled purpose of his labours at the outset of his dramatic career. And during his brief and stormy life he nobly discharged the self-imposed task. His first play, Tamburlaine the Great, struck the authentic note of artistic and romantic tragedy. With all its extravagance, and overstraining after vocal and rhetorical effects, the play throbs with true passion and true poetry, and has throughout the stamp of emotional intensity and intellectual power. His later tragedies, while marked by, the same features, bring into fuller relief the higher characteristics of his passionate and poetical genius.

Alike in the choice of subject and method of treatment Marlowe is thoroughly independent, deriving little, except in the way of general stimulus, either from the classical or popular drama of his day. The signal and farreaching reforms he effected in dramatic metre by the introduction of modulated blank verse illustrates the striking originality of his genius. Gifted with a fine ear for the music of English numbers, and impatient of "the gigging veins of rhyming mother wits," he introduced the noble metre which was at once adopted by his contemporaries and became the vehicle of the great Elizabethan drama. The new metre quickly abolished the rhyming couplets and stanzas that had hitherto prevailed on the popular stage. The rapidity and completeness of this metrical revolution is in itself a powerful tribute to Marlowe's rare insight and feeling as a master of musical expression. The originality and importance of Marlowe's innovation are not materially affected by the fact that one or two classical plays, such as Gorboduc and Jocasta, had been already written in unrhymed verse. In any case these were private plays, and the monotony of cadence and structure in the verse excludes them from anything like serious comparison with the richness and variety of vocal effect produced by the skilful pauses and musical interlinking of Marlowe's heroic metre.

Greene and Peele did almost as much for romantic comedy as Marlowe had done for romantic tragedy.

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Greene's ease and lightness of touch, his freshness of feeling and play of fancy, his vivid sense of the pathos and beauty of homely scenes and thorough enjoyment of English rural life, give to his dramatic sketches the blended charm of romance and reality hardly to be found elsewhere except in Shakespeare's early comedies. In special points of lyrical beauty and dramatic portraiture, such as his sketches of pure and devoted women and of witty and amusing clowns, Greenc anticipated some of the more delightful and characteristic features of Shakespearian comedy. Peele's lighter pieces and Lyly's prose comedies helped in the same direction. Although not written for the public stage, Lyly's court comedies were very popular, and Shakespeare evidently gained from their light and easy if somewhat artificial tone, their constant play of witty banter and sparkling repartee, valuable hints for the prose of his own comedies.

Marlowe again prepared the way for another characteristic development of Shakespeare's dramatic art. His Edward II. marks the rise of the historical drama, as distinguished from the older chronicle play, in which the annals of a reign or period were thrown into a series of loose and irregular metrical scenes. Peele's Edward I., Marlowe's Edward $I I$., and the fine ananymous play of Edrvard III., in which many critics think Shakespeare's hand may be traced, show how thoroughly the new school had felt the rising national pulse, and how promptly it responded to the popular demand for the dramatic treatment of history. The greatness of contemporary events had created a new sense of the grandeur and continuity of the nation's life, and excited amongst all classes a vivid interest in the leading personalities and critical struggles that had marked its progress. There was a strong and general feeling in favour of historical subjects, and especially historical subjects having in them elements of tragical depth and intensity. Shakespeare's own early playsdealing with the distracted reign of King John, the Wars of the Roses, and the tragical lives of Richard II. and

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Richard III.-illustrate this bent of popular feeling. The demand being met by men of poetical and dramatic genius reacted powerfully on the spirit of the age, helping in turn to illuminate and strengthen its loyal and patriotic sympathies.

This is in fact the keynote of the English stage in the great period of its development. It was its breadth of national interest and intensity of tragic power that made the English drama so immeasurably superior to every other contemporary drama in Europe. The Italian drama languished because, though carefully elaborated in point of form, it had no fulness of national life, no common elements of ethical conviction or aspiration, to vitalise and ennoble it. Even tragedy, in the hands of Italian dramatists, had no depth of human passion, no energy of heroic purpose, to give higher meaning and power to its evolution. In Spain the dominant courtly and ecclesiastical influences limited the development of the national drama, while in France it remained from the outset under the artificial restrictions of classical and pseudo-classical traditions. Shakespeare's predecessors and contemporaries, in elevating the common stages, and filling them with poetry, music, and passion, had attracted to the theatre all classes, including the more cultivated and refined; and the intelligent interest, energetic patriotism, and robust life of so representative an English audience supplied the strongest stimulus to the more perfect development of the great organ of national expression. The forms of dramatic art, in the three main departments of comedy, tragedy, and historical drama, had been, as we have seen, clearly discriminated and evolved in their earlier stages. It was a moment of supreme promise and expectation, and in the accidents of earth, or, as we may more appropriately and gratefully say, in the ordinances of heaven, the supreme poet and dramatist appeared to more than fulfil the utmost promise of the time.

By right of imperial command over all the resources of

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imaginative insight and expression Shakespeare combined the rich dramatic materials already prepared into more perfect forms, and carried them to the highest point of ideal development. He quickly surpassed Marlowe in passion, music, and intellectual power; Greene in lyrical beauty, elegiac grace, and narrative interest; Peele in picturesque touch and pastoral sweetness; and Lyly in bright and sparkling dialogue. And having distanced the utmost efforts of his predecessors and contemporaries he took his own higher way, and reigned to the end without a rival in the new world of supreme dramatic art he had created. It is a new world, because Shakespeare's work alone can be said to possess the organic strength and infinite variety, the throbbing fulness, vital complexity, and breathing truth of Nature herself. In points of artistic resource and technical ability-such as copious and expressive diction, freshness and pregnancy of verbal combination, richly modulated verse, and structural skill in the handling of incident and action-Shakespeare's supremacy is indeed sufficiently assured. But, after all, it is of course in the spirit and substance of his work, his power of piercing to the hidden centres of character, of touching the deepest springs of impulse and passion, out of which are the issues of life, and of evolving those issues dramatically with a flawless strength, subtlety, and truth, which raises him so immensely above and beyond not only the best of the playwrights who went before him, but the whole line of illustrious dramatists that came after him. It is Shakespeare's unique distinction that he has an absolute command over all the complexities of thought and feeling that prompt to action and bring out the dividing lines of character. He sweeps with the hand of a master the whole gamut of human experience, from the lowest note to the very top of its compass, from the sportive childish treble of Mamillius and the pleading boyish tones of Prince Arthur, up to the spectre-haunted terrors of Macbeth, the tropical passion of Othello, the agonised sense and tortured spirit of Hamlet, the sustained ele-

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mental grandeur, the Titanic force, and utterly tragical pathos of Lear.

Shakespeare's active dramatic career in London lasted about twenty years, and may be divided into three tolerably symmetrical periods. The first extends from the year 1587 to about $1593-94$; the second, from this date to the end of the century; and the third, from 1600 to about I 608 , soon after which time Shakespeare ceased to write regularly for the stage, was less in London and more and more at Stratford. Some modern critics add to these a fourth period, including the few plays which from internal as well as external evidence must have been amongst the poet's latest productions. As the exact date of these plays are unknowr, this period may be taken to extend from 1608 to about 1612 . The three dramas produced during these years are, however, hardly entitled to be ranked as a separate period. They may rather be regarded as supplementary to the grand series of dramas belonging to the third and greatest epoch of Shakespeare's productive power. To the first period belong Shakespeare's early tentative efforts in revising and partially rewriting plays produced by others that already had possession of the stage. These efforts are illustrated in the three parts of Henry' VI., especially the second and third parts, which bear decisive marks of Shakespeare's hand, and were to a great extent recast and rewritten by him. It is clear from the internal evidence thus supplied that Shakespeare was at first powerfully affected by "Marlowe's mighty line." This influence is so marked in the revised second and third parts of Henry VI. as to induce some critics to believe Marlowe must have had a hand in the revision. These passages are, however, sufficiently explained by the fact of Marlowe's influence during the first period of Shakespeare's career. To the same period also belong the earliest tragedy, that of Titus Andronicus, and the three comedies-Love's Labour's Lost, The Comcdy of Errors, and the Tru Gentlemen of Verona. These dramas are all marked by the dominant literary influences

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of the time. They present features obviously due to the revived and widespread knowledge of classical literature, as well as to the active interest in the literature of Italy and the South. Titus Andronicus, in many of its characteristic features, reflects the form of Roman tragedy almost universally accepted and followed in the earlier period of the drama. This form was supplied by the Latin plays of Seneca, their darker colours being deepened by the moral effect of the judicial tragedies and military conflicts of the time. The execution of the Scottish queen and the Catholic conspirators who had acted in her name, and the destruction of the Spanish Armada, had given an impulse to tragic representations of an extreme type. This was undoubtedly rather fostered than otherwise by the favourite exemplars of Roman tragedy. The Medea and Thyestes of Seneca are crowded with pagan horrors of the most revolting kind. It is true these horrors are usually related, not represented, although in the Medea the maddened heroine kills her children on the stage. But from these tragedies the conception of the physically horrible as an element of tragedy was imported into the early English drama, and intensified by the realistic tendency which the events of the time and the taste of their ruder audiences had impressed upon the common stages. This tendency is exemplified in Titus Andronicus, obviously a very early work, the signs of youthful effort being apparent not only in the acceptance of so coarse a type of tragedy but in the crude handling of character and motive, and the want of harmony in working out the details of the dramatic conception. Kyd was the most popular contemporary representative of the bloody school, and in the leading motives of treachery, concealment, and revenge there are points of likeness between Titus Andronicus and The Spanish Tragedy. But how promptly and completely Shakespeare's nobler nature turned from this lower type is apparent from the fact that he not only never reverted to it but indirectly ridicules the piled-up horrors and extravagant language of Kyd's plays.

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The early comedies in the same way are marked by the dominant literary influences of the time, partly classic, partly Italian. In The Comedy of Errors, for example, Shakespeare attempted a humorous play of the old classical type, the general plan and many details being derived directly from Plautus. In Love's Labour's Lost many characteristic features of Italian comedy are freely introduced: the pedant Holofernes, the curate Sir Nathaniel, the fantastic braggadocio soldier Armado, are all wellknown characters of the contemporary Italian drama. Of this comedy, indeed, Gervinus says: "The tone of the Italian school prevails here more than in any other play. The redundance of wit is only to be compared with a similar redundance of conceit in Shakespeare's narrative poems, and with the Italian style which he had early adopted." These comedies display another sigu of early work in the mechanical exactness of the plan and a studied symmetry in the grouping of the chief personages of the drama. In the Two Gentlcmen of Verona, as Prof. Dowden points out, "Proteus the fickle is set against Valentine the faithful, Silvia the light and intellectual against Julia the ardent and tender, Launce the humourist against Speed the wit." So in Love's Labour's Lost the king and his three fellow students balance the princess and her three ladies, and there is a symmetrical play of incident between the two groups. The arrangement is obviously more artificial than spontaneous, more mechanical than vital and organic. But towards the close of the first period Shakespeare had fully realised his own power and was able to dispense with these artificial supports. Indeed, having rapidly gained knowledge and experience, he had before the close written plays of a far higher character than any which even the ablest of his contemporaries had produced. He had firmly laid the foundation of his future fame in the direction both of comedy and tragedy, for, besides the comedies already referred to, the first sketches of Hamlet and Romeo and Juliet and the tragedy of Richard III. may probably be referred to this period.

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Another mark of early work belonging to these dramas is the lyrical and elegiac tone and treatment associated with the use of rhyme, of rhyming couplets and stanzas. Spenser's musical verse had for the time elevated the character of rhyming metres by identifying them with the highest kinds of poetry, and Shakespeare was evidently at first affected by this powerful impulse. He rhymed with great facility, and delighted in the gratification of his lyrical fancy and feeling which the more musical rhyming metres afforded. Rhyme accordingly has a considerable and not inappropriate place in the earlier romantic comedies. The Comedy of Errors has indeed been described as a kind of lyrical farce in which the opposite qualities of elegiac beauty and comic effect are happily blended. Rhyme, however, at this period of the poet's work is not restricted to the comedies. It is largely used in the tragedies and histories as well, and plays even an important part in historical drama so late as Richard II.

Whatever question may be raised with regard to the superiority of some of the plays belonging to the first period of Shakespeare's dramatic career, there can be no question at all as to any of the pieces belonging to the second period, which extends to the end of the century. During these years Shakespeare works as a master, having complete command over the materials and resources of the most mature and flexible dramatic art. "To this stage," says Mr. Swinburne, " belongs the special faculty of faultless, joyous, facile command upon each faculty required of the presiding genius for service or for sport. It is in the middle period of his work that the language of Shakespeare is most limpid in its fulness, the style most pure, the thought most transparent through the close and luminous raiment of perfect expression." This period includes the magnificent series of historical plays-Richard $I I$., the two parts of Henry $I V$., and Henry $V$.-and a double series of brilliant comedies. The MidsummerNight's Dream, All's Well that Ends Well, and The Merchant of Venice were produced before I598, and during

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the next three years there appeared a still more complete and characteristic group, including Much Ado About Nothing, As You Like It, and Twuelfth Night. These comedies and historical plays are all marked by a rare harmony of reflective and imaginative insight, perfection of creative art, and completeness of dramatic effect. Before the close of this period, in 1598 , Francis Meres paid his celebrated tribute to Shakespeare's superiority in lyrical, descriptive, and dramatic poetry, emphasising his unrivalled distinction in the three main departments of the drama-comedy, tragedy, and historical play. And from this time onwards the contemporary recognitions of Shakespeare's eminence as a poet and dramatist rapidly multiply, the critics and eulogists being in most cases well entitled to speak with authority on the subject.

In the third period of Shakespeare's dramatic career years had evidently brought enlarged vision, wider thoughts, and deeper experiences. While the old mastery of art remains, the works belonging to this period seem to bear traces of more intense moral struggles, larger and less joyous views of human life, more troubled, complex, and profound conceptions and emotions. Comparatively few marks of the lightness and animation of the earlier works remain, but at the same time the dramas of this period display an unrivalled power of piercing the deepest mysteries and sounding the most tremendous and perplexing problems of human life and human destiny. To this period belong the four great tragedies-Hamlet, Macbeth, Othello, Lear; the three Roman plays-Coriolanus, Julius Casar, Antony and Cleopatra; the two singular plays whose scene and personages are Greek but whose action and meaning are wider and deeper than either Greck or Roman life-Troilus and Cressida and Timon of Athens; and one comedy-Measure for Measure, which is almost tragic in the depth and intensity of its characters and incidents. The four great tragedies represent the highest reach of Shakespeare's dramatic power, and they sufficiently illustrate the range and complexity of the deeper

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problems that now occupied his mind. Timon and Measure for Measure, however, exemplify the same tendency to brood with meditative intensity over the wrongs and miseries that afflict lumanity. These works sufficiently prove that during this period Shakespeare gained a disturbing insight into the deeper evils of the world, arising from the darker passions, such as treachery and revenge. But it is also clear that, with the larger vision of a noble, well-poised nature, he at the same time gained a fuller perception of the deeper springs of goodness in human nature, of the great virtues of invincible fidelity and unwearied love, and he evidently received not only consolation and calm but new stimulus and power from the fuller realisation of these virtues. The typical plays of this period thus embody Shakespeare's ripest experience of the great issues of life. In the four grand tragedies the central problem is a profoundly moral one. It is the supreme internal conflict of good and evil amongst the central forces and higher elements of human nature, as appealed to and developed by sudden and powerful temptation, smitten by accumulated wrongs, or plunged in overwhelming calamities. As the result, we learn that there is something infinitely more precious in life than social ease or worldly success-nobleness of soul, fidelity to truth and honour, human love and loyalty, strength and tenderness, and trust to the very end. In the most tragic experiences this fidelity to all that is best in life is only possible through the loss of life itself. But when Desdemona expires with a sigh and Cordelia's loving eyes are closed, when Hamlet no more draws his breath in pain and the tempest-tossed Lear is at last liberated from the rack of this tough world, we feel that, Death having set his sacred seal on their great sorrows and greater love, they remain with us as possessions for ever. In the three dramas belonging to Shakespeare's last Deriod, or rather which may be said to close his dramatic career, the same feeling of severe but consolatorv calm is still more apparent. If the deeper discords of life are not finally resolved,

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the virtues which soothe their perplexities and give us courage and endurance to wait, as well as confidence to trust the final issues-the virtues of forgiveness and generosity, of forbearance and self-control-are largely illustrated. This is a characteristic feature in each of these closing dramas, in The Winter's Tale, Cymbcline, and The Tempest. The Tempest is supposed, on tolerably good grounds, to be Shakespeare's last work, and in it we see the great magician, having gained by the wonderful experience of life, and the no less wonderful practice of his art, serene wisdom, clear and enlarged vision, and beneficent self-control, break his magical wand and retire from the scene of his triumphs to the home he had chosen amidst the woods and meadows of the Avon, and surrounded by the family and friends he loved.

## A MIDSUMMER-NIGHT'S DREAM.

## Preface.

The Editions. Two Quarto editions of $A$ MidsummerNight's Dream appeared in the year 1600:-
(i.) A Midsummer-night's dreame. As it hath been sundry times publickely acted, by the Right honourable, the Lord Chamberlaine his servants. Written by William Shakespeare. Imprinted at London, for Thomas Fisher, and are to be soulde at his shoppe, at the signe of the White Hart, in Fleetestreet. 1600.
(ii.) An edition with the same title, bearing the name of 'Iames Roberts' instead of 'Thomas Fisher.'

These editions are styled respectively the First and Second Quartos; the Second was probably a pirated reprint of Fisher's, but the differences between them are unimportant, and though the First must be considered the authoritative text, both copies are remarkably accurate, when compared with other Quartos.

The First Folio version of the play was printed from the Second Quarto, with a few slight and unimportant changes, and with some careless errors.

The Date of Composition. The only positive piece of external evidence for the date of A Midsummer-Night's Dream is its mention by Francis Meres in his Palladis Tamia, I 598. Various attempts have been made to fix the occasion for which the play was originally written. Lord Southampton's marriage with Elizabeth Vernon has been proposed by some, but this did not take place till 1598 ; others maintain that the occasion was the marriage of the Earl of Essex with Lady Frances Sidney, the widow of Sir Philip Sidney, in 1590 ; there is, however, absolutely
no authority for the statement, and the probabilities are strongly opposed to the supposition.

The most valuable internal indication of the date of composition is perhaps to be found in Act v. i. 52-55:-

The thrice three Muses mourning for the death
Of Learning, late deceased in beggary.
This is some satire, keen and critical,
Not sorting with a nuptial ceremony.
We have most likely in these lines a reference to the death of Robert Greene, 'utriusque Academice in Artibus Magister,' the novelist and dramatist, whose Groatsworth of Wit contained his well-known attack on 'the onely Shake-scene in a country '; in this pamphlet Greene spoke as the very representative of 'Learning,' and sounded the alarm of the scholar-poets at the triumphs of the 'unlearned' players in general, and of one 'upstart crowe' in particular. Greene died in degraded beggary in the autumn of I592. The phrase 'the thrice three Muses' was in all likelihood suggested by Spenser's Teares of the Muses (published in I591), in which the nine Muses severally bewail the neglect of scholars, -one of many similar laments to be found in Elizabethan literature (cp.e.g. the lines at the end of the first sestiad of Marlowe's Hero and Leander). The words' late deceas'd' would, according to this interpretation, fix the date of composition at about I 592-3.

On the other hand, it is maintained that Titania's description of the disastrous state of the weather (II. i. 88117) points directly to the wretched summer of the year I594; various contemporary accounts have come down to us of that terrible year, all of them recalling Shakespeare's words:-
' A colder time in world was never seene:
The skies do loure, the sun and moone wax dim;
Summer scarce known, but that the leaves are greene.
The winter's waste drives water ore the brim;
Upon the land great flotes of wood may swim;'
-Churchyard's Charitie, 1595.
[cp. Forman's Diary ( $1564-1602$ ) ; Stowe's Chronicle,
under the year 1594; Dr. King's Lectures upon Jonas delivered at Yorke in the year of our Lorde 1594.]

The general characteristics of the play lead to nothing very definite as far as its date is concerned; the rhymetest is obviously no criterion, for the comedy is intentionally lyrical ; but the blank-verse, with its paucity of doubleendings and general regularity, the carefully elaborated plan and symmetrical arrangement of the plot, the comparative absence of real characterisation, the many reminiscences of country life, the buoyancy of its tone, all these elements manifestly connect A Midsummer-Night's Dream with the group of early 'love plays,'-Love's Labour's Lost, The Tivo Gentlemen of Verona, and The Comedy of Errors, and it may reasonably be placed between this group and the play to which they all seem to serve as preparatory efforts, the love-tragedy of 'Romeo and Juliet,'-i.e. about the years 1593-1595. In all probability it passed through various revisions before its appearance as we have it in the First Quarto.

The Sources. (i.) Shakespeare may well have evolved A Midsummer-Night's Drcam from Chaucer's Knight's Tale,* to which he is obviously indebted for many elements. The general framework of the play-viz., the marriage of Theseus and Hippolyta, must have been suggested by the Tale; but Shakespeare ingeniously opens the 'Dream' before the marriage, so that this event may round off the whole play; Chaucer introduces us to the pair at their home-coming after the marriage. In the Tale' we have Palamon and Arcite rivals for the hand of Emelie ; in obedience to the symmetrical plan of Shakespeare's early plots, these give place to two pairs of lovers, with their more complex story of crossed love; Emeliê in fact resolves herself into Helena and Hermia. They are indeed " two lovely berries moulded on one stem."

[^30]The great gods of Olympus, who busy themselves so actively with the destinies of the lovers in the 'Tale,' are represented in the 'Dream' by their mediæval representatives, by Oberon, Titania, and their ministering sprites.

In the 'Tale,' as in the 'Dream,' we have the same allusions to the rites of May, and the same ' musical confusion of hounds and echo in conjunction.' Shakespeare has, however, wisely dispensed with the cumbersome machinery of the 'Tale'-cumbersome from the theatrical point of view-viz., the dungeons, tournaments, etc. The Two Noble Kinsmen should be read in order to understand how weak a drama results from the actual dramatisation of Chaucer's story of Palamon and Arcite.*

The secret of the transformation of The Knight's Tale into A Midsummer-Night's Dream may perhaps be partially understood, if we consider the task that Shakespeare seems to have set himself,-the task of satisfying all the requirements of a 'Court drama' without departing from his own ideas of Romantic Comedy. The essential elements of such a play as Lyly's Endymion,-the spectacular machinery, the mythological agencies, the love-story, the comical interlude, the complimentary allusions to the Queen, direct or allegorical,-all these find a place in Shakespeare's Dream.
(ii.) Popular tradition, derived from Teutonic and Celtic paganism, together with quasi-classical and romantic lore, are the main sources of Shakespeare's fairy mythology. $\dagger$ Oberon, the fairy king, found a place in English

[^31]dramatic literature* before Shakespeare re-created him; he may be traced back to the Charlemagne romance of Huon of Bordeaux, translated from the French by Lord Berners about 1534 (cp. Early English Text Society, Extra Series, ed. S. Lee, Nos. 40, 4I, 43, 50). 'Oberon,' in reality identical with the famous dwarf 'Alberich' of the Nibelungen Lied, dwells with all his fairy subjects in a forest on the way to Babylon, and the splendour of his equipment has a truly oriental colouring ; similarly Shakespeare associates his 'fairy-land' with the East-' the farthest steep of India.'
'Titania' (taken from Ovid, Metam. IV. 346, where it is applied to Diana) illustrates the belief current at the time that the fairies were identical with the classical nymphs, and that Diana was their queen. $\dagger$ Titania's more popular title was 'Queen Mab.'

In Chaucer's Merchant's Tale the Fairy-King and Fairy-Queen are styled Pluto and Proserpina; possibly Shakespeare was indebted to Chaucer's Tale for the quarrel between Oberon and Titania, and for the FairyKing's interest in a pair of mortals:-

> Pluto that is King of Faerië, And many a lady in his companië Following his wife, the Queen Proserpina Dame, quod this Pluto, be no longer wroth, I am king, it sit me not to lië. And I, quoth she, am Queen of Färië, Let us no morë wordës of it make.'
(It should be borne in mind that Spenser's Faerie Queene was published in 1590. )

The characteristics of 'Puck,' Oberon's jester, (' thou lob of spirits, i.e. clown,' II. I-I6) may all have been derived from popular tradition; the name was probably of Celtic origin, a generic term for 'sprite or goblin,' but it

* In Greene's James IV., where he figures as 'Oboram, King of the Fayeries'; (cp. The Fairy Queen, Bk. ii., Cant. i., Sts. 6, 75).
$\dagger$ King James I. in his Demonologie points out that Diana was 'amongst us called the Phairee.'
is found in English before the Conquest, and very early in Scandinavian and other dialects. The mischief-loving sprite was generally known as 'Robin Goodfellow,' in English, and 'Knecht Ruprecht' in German. (On the Fairy-lore, cp. Halliwell's Illustrations of the Fairy Mythology of Midsummer-Night's Dream, Shakespeare Society Publication, 1845, where among other illustrative texts ' The Mad Pranks and Merry Jests of Robin Goodfellow' (printed 1628) will be found in extenso; also Keightley's Fairy Mythology; cp. Jonson's Mask of Oberon, Drayton's Nymphidia, Milton's L'Allegro, ioo114).
(iii.) It is significant that in Chaucer's Merchant's Tale, to which allusion has already been made, occur the following lines:-

> 'O noble Ovide, soth sayest thou, God wot, What sleight is it if love be long and hote, That he will find it cut in some manere? By Pyramus and Thisbe may men lere; Though they were kept ful long and strict over all, They ben accorded, rowning through a wall,' etc.*

Perhaps these lines suggested to Shakespeare the subject of his burlesque interlude, introduced into this play much in the same way as the 'Nine Worthies' in Love's Labour's Lost. Various poems, ballads, and perhaps mumming plays on the subject of Pyramus and Thisbe were probably known to Shakespeare, though his immediate source seems to have been Golding's translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses, where the story is told (iv. 55r66).

A commonplace-book of the beginning of the seventeenth century belonging to the British Museum (Additional MSS. I 5227) contains a short play entitled "Tragadia miserrima Pyrami et Thisbes Fata enuncians [Historia ex Publio Ovidio deprompta] Authore N.R." A

[^32]few lines from these brief 'tedious' scenes will serve to show how easily the subject lends itself to burlesque:-
> "What shall I doe? I know not what to doe. Where shall I runne, oh runne? I cannot goe. Where shall I goe, oh goe? I cannot stirre."

Among Clement Robinson's Handful of Pleasant Delights (1584) there is ' $A$ New Sonet of Pyramus and Thisbe,' which occasionally reminds one of Shakespeare's parody.
["Narcissus, A Twelfe Night Merriment played by Youths of the Parish at the College of S. John the Baptist in Oxford, A.D. 1602 (ed. Margaret Lee; David Nutt, 1893) is a similar burlesque of an Ovidian story.]
(iv.) 'Oberon's Vision'-the pivot of the play-contains without doubt a complimentary allusion to the Queen. Various explanations have been advanced of the whole passage (II. i. 148-168). In 1843 the Rev. N. J. Halpin published his 'Oberon's Vision in the Midsum-mer-Night's Dream, illustrated by a comparison with Lylie's Endymion'--the most ingenious unravelling of this allegorical passage, which is said to refer to the Queen's visit to Kenilworth Castle in July, 1575 ; to the festivities on that occasion ; to the ambitious attempts of Leicester (' Cupid all arm'd,' Lyly's Endymion) to win Elizabeth (' the cold moon,' Lyly's Cynthia) ; to his wavering passion for the Countess of Sheffield (' the earth,' Lyly's Tellus) ; and finally to his intrigue with Lettice, Countess of Essex ('a little western Aower,' Lyly's Floscilla).
Time of Action. The action of the play covers three days, or rather one long night preceded and followed by a day, although Theseus in his opening words tells Hippolyta "Four happy days" are to elapse before their nuptial hour. The eventful night of the second day occupies the greater part of the play-viz., Acts II., III., and IV. Sc. i. (11. I-I42). The following morning is "the morn of May"; "the Dream" is really "a May-Night's Dream," but 'Midsummer Eve '-_'St John's Night,' with its pagan Balefires-was especially associated with fairy
superstitions and fantastic riotings, and the title suggests little more than 'a very Midsummer madness.' It is not absolutely necessary, as some scholars maintain, to regard the play as actually written for performance ' on Midsum-mer-day at Night,' though such plays were occasionally composed (e.g. Ben Jonson's Fairy Masque 'The Satyr,' which evidently owes much to Shakespeare).

The idea of a 'dream-drama' was perhaps suggested by Lyly's Prologue to his Woman in the Moon, written some ten years before Shakespeare's play:-
> ' Remember all is but a poet's dream, The first he had in Phoobus' holy bower, But not the last, unless the first displease.'

But in employing 'the Dream' as a piece of poetical machinery Shakespeare links himself to his mediæval predecessors, whose conventional allegories knew no other medium than that made familiar to them by their favourite 'Romaunt,'-a device derived by Lorris from the quaint dream-book to which Chaucer often refers, 'Scipionis Somnium,' by ' an author hight Macrobes.'

## " ©5ad turne uy energ oream to goobl"



A Pensioner (II. i. 10) of the time of Elizabeth.

## Critical Comments.

## I.

## Argument.

I. Theseus, Duke of Athens, after conquering the Amazons in battle, is in turn conquered by the charms of their queen, Hippolyta, and plights troth with her. To speed the time until their wedding night, he orders amusements to be put on foot. Actuated by a spirit of loyalty, Bottom the weaver and other tradesmen prepare a play for the Duke.

Egeus, an Athenian, brings his daughter Hermia and her two suitors before Theseus, praying him to command Hermia to wed Demetrius. Hermia pleads to be allowed to marry the one she loves-Lysander. The Duke orders her to obey her father under penalty of death or of a conventual life. Hermia and Lysander bewail the harsh decree, and secretly agree to meet in a wood near by and flee to another country. They tell their plans to Helena, a jilted sweetheart of Demetrius, and she, to win back his love, goes straightway to inform him of the design.
II. In the forest is great commotion among the fairies. King Oberon and Queen Titania are at odds. Oberon bids Puck procure a love-juice to pour upon Titania's eyelids when she is asleep, in order that she may love the first thing her waking eyes behold. Just then Oberon perceives Demetrius, who has sought out the trysting-place of Lysander and Hermia, only to meet Helena, much to his distaste. The lady's distress at her lover's coldness softens the heart of Oberon, who bids Puck touch Demetrius's eyes also with the love-juice, for Helena's sake, while he himself anoints the eyes of Ti-
tania. Meantime Lysander and Hermia arrive, and Puck in error anoints Lysander's instead of Demetrius's eyes; so that Lysander, happening to awake just as the neglected Helena wanders by, falls in love with her, to the abandonment of Hermia.
III. This same enchanted spot in the forest happens to be the place selected by Bottom the weaver and his companions for the final rehearsal of their play. The roguish Puck passes that way while they are rehearsing, and decides to take a hand in the proceedings. He crowns Bottom with an ass's head, whereupon the other players disperse terror-stricken. Then he brings Bottom to Titania, whose enchanted gaze fixes upon the human ass as her heart's love.

Meantime the four lovers come into great bewilderment. Oberon finds that Puck has anointed the eyes of Lysander instead of those of Demetrius, which he himself now takes occasion to touch. When Demetrius awakes he sees his neglected Helena being wooed by Lysander. His own love for her returns, and he is ready to fight Lysander. Helena deems them both to be mocking her; while Hermia is dazed by the turn of affairs. The fairies interpose and prevent conflict by causing the four to wander about until they are tired, when they fall asleep. Puck repairs his blunder by anointing Lysander's eyes, in order to dispel the illusion caused by the love-juice.
IV. Titania makes love to Bottom, till Oberon, whose anger has abated, removes the spell from her eyes. To Bottom is restored his natural form, and he rejoins his comrades in Athens. Theseus, on an early morning hunting-trip in the forest, discovers the four lovers. Explanations follow; the Duke relents and bestows Helena upon Demetrius and Hermia upon Lysander.
V. A wedding-feast for three couples instead of one only is spread in Duke Theseus's palace. Thither come Bottom's players to present the comic tragedy of "Pyr-
amus and Thisbe," which is performed in wondrous fashion. After the company retires for the night, the fairies dance through the corridors on a mission of blessing and good-will for the three wedded pairs.

McSpadden: Shakespearian Synopses.

## II.

## The Fairy World.

The fairy world becomes [in this play] as diversified as the natural, and we find degrees and orders among the flimsy population, from the robed and circleted $\mathrm{Ob}-$ eron and his Queen, the humorsome but observant Puck, the deft fairy mistress of robes and dewer of floral orbs, to the cloud of graceful dancers, and the small elves not disdainful of dapper jerkins from leather of rearmice. The diminutiveness and delicacy ascribed to the quaint spirits are leading characteristics of the poetical ideal portrayed, and at the same time appear most difficult of dramatic rendering. Yet the poet appears to make no concession from consideration of the player; he rather insists, with recurring emphasis, on the tiny and airy essence of the beings he imagines, and demands that details as fragile and minute as those which, in mere license of unlimited description, are ascribed to Queen Mab's equipage in Romeo and Juliet, shall here be bodily set forth. Peasblossom, Cobweb, and their compeers, are as defined personalities as courtiers and gold sticks, lords in waiting, yeomen of the guard, and gentlemen pensioners ever can be. Answering to quaint names, but speaking little else, they execute sedulous and unquestioning, and with no sense of incongruity, all commands of their sovereign, and with equal zeal watch round " her close and consecrated bower," or scratch the ass's nowl of any anamorphosed fool who happens to be a royal favourite. Yet they attend and answer with the heart of elves not too big to find a full suit in a bat's
wing, but able-bodied for warfare singly against the redhipped humble-bee, only wary withal of the bursting honey bag-or even, in phalanx, against the hooting owl with its broad wondering eyes, but scared when the voices of their sovereigns rise in domestic debate, and happy to dive, more than two together, into the depths of a concealing acorn cup. Delicately they can transfer and handle a dew-drop-a fairy ring on the grass affords space for a multitude of them-and for time, a minute requires micrometrical division-" Then for the third part of a minute hence "-for the apportionment of their most complicated undertakings.

Such, however, is the perfect harmony of imagery and allusion, that, while the fairies are alone on the stage, it might be easy for the eye to mistake the scale of the actors, with slight assistance of sex and age in the cast. Some aid may be gained by a moderated disproportion in the forest scenery, flowers, turf, mushrooms, etc., and the trunk of the "Duke's oak." Add to this careful attention to contrast the fairy costume with that of even the female characters of the play, to illuminate the stage sufficiently for the play of countenance to be discovered through the long night scenes, otherwise vexatious, and stage resources will have done all that is necessary, and the rest may be left to the force of the poetry, which will solicit, will exact, prompt acquiescence in all its postulates, and to the gradation of relief from the bewildered lovers to the amateur actors and their translated coryphæus.

Lloyd: Critical Essays on the Plays of Shakespeare.

## III.

## Effects of Contrast.

We can readily perceive why, in this work, the "rude mechanicals" and clowns, and the company of actors with their burlesque comedy, are placed in such
rude contrast to the tender and delicate play of the fairies. Prominence is given to both by the contrast afforded between the material and the aërial, between the awkward and the beautiful, between the utterly unimaginative and that which, itself fancy, is entirely woven out of fancy. The play acted by the clowns is, as it were, the reverse of the poet's own work, which demands all the spectator's reflective and imitative fancy to open to him this aërial world, whilst in the other nothing is left to the imagination of the spectator. The homely mechanics, who compose and act merely for gain, and for the sake of so many pence a day, the ignorant players, with hard hands and thick heads, whose unskilful art consists in learning their parts by heart, these men believe themselves obliged to represent Moon and Moonshine by name in order to render them evident; they supply the lack of side-scenes by persons, and all that should take place behind the scenes they explain by digressions. These rude doings are disturbed by the fairy chiefs with their utmost raillery, and the fantastical company of lovers mock at the performance.

## Gervinus: Shakespeare Commentaries.

## IV.

## Puck and His Pranks.

Puck is apt to remind one of Ariel, though they have little in common, save that both are supernatural, and therefore live no longer in the faith of reason. Puck is no such sweet-mannered, tender-hearted, music-breathing spirit, there are no such delicate interweavings of a sensitive moral soul in his nature, he has no such snft touches of compassion and pious awe of goodness, as link the dainty Ariel in so sweetly with our best sympathies. Though Goodfellow by name, his powers and aptitudes for mischief are quite unchecked by any gentle
relentings of fellow-feeling: in whatsoever distresses he finds or occasions he sees much to laugh at, nothing to pity: to tease and vex poor human sufferers, and then to think " what fools these mortals be," is pure fun to him; and if he do not cause pain, it is that the laws of Fairydom forbid him, not that he wishes it uncaused. Yet, notwithstanding his mad pranks, we cannot choose but love him, and let our fancy frolic with him, his sense of the ludicrous is so exquisite, he is so fond of sport, and so quaint and merry in his mischief, while at the same time such is the strange web of his nature as to keep him morally innocent. It would seem that some of the tricks once ascribed to him were afterwards transferred to witcheraft. Well do we remember a black spot in the bottom of the old churn over which we have toiled away many an autumnal evening. A red-hot horseshoe had been thrown in to disbewitch the cream, and had left its mark there. Report told how a certain old woman of the neighbourhood was fretting and groaning the next morning with a terrible burn. Of course she was burnt out of the churn, and, she away, the butter soon came.

## Hudson : The Works of Shakespeare.

## V.

## Titania.

[Shakespeare's fairies] can make no direct inward impression upon mortals; their influence over the mind is not spiritual, but throughout material; it is effected by means of vision, metamorphosis, and imitation. Titania has no spiritual association with her friend, but mere delight in her beauty, her "swimming gait," and her powers of imitation. When she awakes from her vision there is no reflection. "Methought I was enamoured of an ass," she says-" O, how mine eyes do loathe his visage now!" She is only affected by the idea
of the actual and the visible. There is no scene of reconciliation with her husband; her resentment consists in separation, her reconciliation in a dance; there is no trace of reflection, no indication of feeling. Thus, to remind Puck of a past event no abstract date sufficed, but an accompanying indication, perceptible to the senses, was required. They are represented, these little gods, as natural souls, without the higher human capacities of mind, lords of a kingdom, not of reason and morality, but of imagination and ideas conveyed by the senses; and thus they are uniformly the vehicle of the fancy which produces the delusions of love and dreams. Their will, therefore, only extends to the corporeal. They lead a luxurious, merry life, given up to the pleasures of the senses; the secrets of nature and the powers of flowers and herbs are confided to them. To sleep in flowers, lulled with dances and songs, with the wings of painted butterflies to fan the moonbeams from their eyes, this is their pleasure ; the gorgeous apparel of flowers and dewdrops is their joy. When Titania wishes to allure her beloved, she offers him honey, apricots, purple grapes, and dancing.

Gervinus: Shakespeare Commentaries.

## VI.

## Bottom.

When Malvolio [in Twelfth Night] is trying to break up the midnight revel. the mischievous Maria fleers at him with, " Go shake your ears." That is a performance for which Malvolio is still too distant from his congener. But self-sufficiency succeeds in preserving that structure in Bottom, who is so deep and rich with harmless vanity that he sprouts into the auricular appendages, and he shakes them in the most amiable, frisky way through the Dream of a Midsummer Night. But there is nothing sour about Bottom; he has none of the quality which

Margaret Fuller was the first to call "aloofness." He is hale-fellow with all his mates who appreciate the small gifts which belong to him, and which he good-naturedly strives to render serviceable. Though he is a better fellow than Malvolio, he has all that precisian's ambition; for as the steward could be Olivia's husband as well as any other man-forsooth, why not?-so Bottom thinks he can play all the parts, rises to their glittering bait, and would appropriate the whole interlude. He is one of those self-made men who occasionally discredit their own bringing up and help us to recover our respect for a liberal education. Like the man of whom Sydney Smith said that he was ready at any moment to undertake the command of the Channel Fleet or run a factory, they have elbowed their way into a conviction that they can fill all the offices from constable to President in a style to astonish men of disciplined intelligence. And they frequently succeed in doing that. Men who unfortunately enjoyed early advantages, and whose lives have perhaps been a protracted training in the virtue as well as wit which lifts state-craft above gambling, have the proper kind of admiration for these chevaliers of industry.

It is also a suggestion of the subtlest humor when Titania summons her fairies to wait upon Bottom; for the fact is that the soul's airy and nimble fancies are constantly detailed to serve the donkeyism of this world. "Be kind and courteous to this gentleman." Divine gifts stick musk-roses in his sleek, smooth head. The world is a peg that keeps all spiritual being tethered. James Watt agonizes to teach this vis inertice to drag itself by the car-load; Palissy starves for twenty years to enamel its platter; Franklin charms its house against thunder; Raphael contributes halos to glorify its ignorance of divinity; all the poets gather for its beguilement, hop in its walk and gambol before it, scratch its head, bring honey-bags, and light its farthing dip at glowworms' eyes. Bottom's want of insight is circled round
by fulness of insight, his clumsiness by dexterity. In matter of eating, he really prefers provender: "good hay, sweet hay, hath no fellow." But how shrewdly Bottom manages this holding of genius to his service! He knows how to send it to be oriented with the blossoms and the sweets, giving it the characteristic counsel not to fret itself too much in the action.

You see there is nothing sour and cynical about Bottom. His daily peck of oats, with plenty of munchingtime, travels to the black cell where the drop of gall gets secreted into the ink of starving thinkers, and sings content to it on oaten straw. Bottom, full-ballasted, haltered to a brown-stone-fronted crib, with digestion always waiting upon appetite, tosses a tester to Shakspeare, who might, if the tradition be true, have held his horse in the purlieus of the Curtain or Rose Theatre: perhaps he sublet the holding while he slipped in to show Bottom how he is a deadly earnest fool; and the boxes crow and clap their unconsciousness of being put into the poet's celestial stocks. All this time Shakspeare is divinely restrained from bitterness by the serenity which overlooks a scene. If, like the ostrich, he had been only the largest of the birds which do not fly, he might have wrangled for his rations of ten-penny nails and leather, established perennial indigestion in literature, and furnished plumes to jackdaws. But he flew closest to the sun, and competed with the dawn for a first taste of its sweet and fresh impartiality.

Weiss: Wit, Humor, and Shakspeare.

## VII.

## Theseus.

The central figure of the play is that of Theseus. There is no figure in the early drama of Shakspere so magnificent. His are the large hands that have helped to shape the world. His utterance is the rich-toned speech of one who is master of events-who has never
known a shrill or eager feeling. His nuptial day is at hand; and while the other lovers are agitated, bewildered, incensed, Theseus, who does not think of himself as a lover, but rather as a beneficent conqueror, remains in calm possession of his joy. Theseus, a grand ideal figure, is to be studied as Shakspere's conception of the heroic man of action in his hour of enjoyment and of leisure. With a splendid capacity for enjoyment, gracious to all, ennobled by the glory, implied rather than explicit, of great foregone achievement, he stands as centre of the poem, giving their true proportions to the fairy tribe, upon the one hand, and, upon the other, to the "human mortals." The heroic men of action-Theseus, Henry V., Hector-are supremely admired by Shakspere. Yet it is observable that as the total Shakspere is superior to Romeo, the man given over to passion, and to Hamlet, the man given over to thought, so the Hamlet and the Romeo within him give Shakspere an infinite advantage over even the most heroic men of action. He admires these men of action supremely, but he admires them from an outside point of view. "These fellows of infinite tongue," says Henry, wooing the French princess, " that can rhyme themselves into ladies' favours, they do always reason themselves out again. What! a speaker is but a prater, a rhyme is but a ballad." It is into Theseus' mouth that Shakspere puts the words which class together "the lunatic, the lover, and the poet" as of imagination all compact. That is the touch which shows how Shakspere stood off from Theseus, did not identify himself with this grand ideal (which he admired so truly), and admitted to himself a secret superiority of his own soul over that of this noble master of the world.

Comments by Shakspere upon his own art are not so numerous that we can afford to overlook them. It must here be noted that Shakspere makes the "palpable gross" interlude of the Athenian mechanicals serve as an indirect apology for his own necessarily imperfect
attempt to represent fairy-land and the majestic world of heroic life. Maginn (Shakspeare Papers, p. 119) writes: " When Hippolyta speaks scornfully of the tragedy in which Bottom holds so conspicuous a part, Theseus answers that the best of this kind [scenic performances] are but shadows, and the worst no worse if imagination amend them. She answers [for Hippolyta has none of Theseus' indulgence towards inefficiency, but rather a woman's intolerance of the absurd] that it must be your imagination then, not theirs. He retorts with a joke on the vanity of actors, and the conversation is immediately changed. The meaning of the Duke is that, however we may laugh at the silliness of Bottom and his companions in their ridiculous play, the author labours under no more than the common calamity of dramatists. They are all but dealers in shadowy representations of life; and if the worst among them can set the mind of the spectator at work, he is equal to the best."

Maginn has missed the more important significance of the passage. Its dramatic appropriateness is the essential point to observe. To Theseus, the great man of action, the worst and the best of these shadowy representations are all one. He graciously lends himself to be amused, and will not give unmannerly rebuff to the painstaking craftsmen who have so laboriously done their best to please him. But Shakspere's mind by no means goes along with the utterance of Theseus in this instance any more than when he places in a single group the lover, the lunatic, and the poet. With one principle enounced by the Duke, however, Shakspere evidently does agree-namely, that it is the business of the dramatist to set the spectator's imagination to work; that the dramatist must rather appeal to the mind's eye than to the eye of sense; and that the co-operation of the spectator with the poet is necessary. For the method of Bottom and his company is precisely the reverse, as Gervinus has observed, of Shakspere's own method.

They are determined to leave nothing to be supplied by the imagination. Wall must be plastered; Moonshine must carry lantern and bush. And when Hippolyta, again becoming impatient of absurdity, exclaims, "I am aweary of this moon! would he would change!" Shakspere further insists on his piece of dramatic criticism by urging, through the Duke's mouth, the absolute necessity of the man in the moon being within his lantern. Shakspere as much as says, "If your do not approve my dramatic method of presenting fairy-land and the heroic world, here is a specimen of the rival method. You think my fairy-world might be amended. Well, amend it with your own imagination. I can do no more unless I adopt the artistic ideas of these Athenian handicraftsmen."
It is a delightful example of Shakspere's impartiality that he can represent Theseus with so much genuine enthusiasm. Mr. Matthew Arnold has named our aristocrats, with their hardy, efficient manners, their addiction to field sports, and their hatred of ideas, "the Barbarians." Theseus is a splendid and gracious aristocrat, perhaps not without a touch of the Barbarian in him. He would have found Hamlet a wholly unintelligible person, who, in possession of his own thoughts, could be contented in a nutshell.

Dowden: Shakspere.

## VIII.

## Appreciations of the Play.

We have here an element of aristocratic distinction in the princely couple, Theseus and Hippolyta, and their court. We have here an element of sprightly burlesque in the artisans' performance of Pyramus and Thisbe, treated with genial irony and divinely felicitous humour. And here, finally, we have the element of supernatural poetry, which soon after flashes forth again in Romeo and Juliet, where Mercutio describes the doings of Queen

Mab. Puck and Pease-blossom, Cobweb and Mustard-seed-pigmies who hunt the worms in a rosebud, tease bats, chase spiders, and lord it over nightingales-are the leading actors in an elfin play, a fairy carnival of inimitable mirth and melody, steeped in a midsummer atmosphere of mist-wreaths and flower-scents, under the afterglow that lingers through the sultry night. This miracle of happy inspiration contains the germs of innumerable romantic achievements in England, Germany, and Denmark, more than two centuries later.

Brandes: William Shakespeare.
Of all his works, the Midsummer-Night's Dream leaves the strongest impression on my mind, that this miserable world must have, for once at least, contained a happy man. This play is so purely delicious, so little intermixed with the painful passions from which poetry distils her sterner sweets, so fragrant with hilarity, so bland and yet so bold, that I cannot imagine Shakspeare's mind to have been in any other frame than that of healthful ecstasy when the sparks of inspiration thrilled through his brain in composing it.

## Campbell.

Shakespeare's joy in the possession of the poetic gift, and his earliest delight in life, found radiant expression in A Midsummer-Night's Dream, a masterpiece of poetic fancy, and the gayest and most beautiful of poetic comedies. Rich as this drama is in humorous effects, it. is so essentially lyrical in spirit that it stands alone in English poetry; an exquisite expansion of the masque or festival poem into a drama of pure fancy and daring imagination.
Mabie: William Shakespeare : Poet, Dramatist, and Man.
The Midsummer-Night's Dream is especially remarkable for its beauty as a composition. The theme throughout is treated with care as well as felicity. In structure,

## Comments

in diction, in characterisation, and poetical elegance, it is, we may boldly say, faultless. Nor is it less fitted for the stage than for the closet. However it may be acted, whether as a ballet with a favourite cantatrice in the part of Oberon, or otherwise as a Scandinavian legend with the faery monarch properly bearded, its histrionic representation is always charming. Its execution is as exquisite as its conception is delicate.
Heraud: Shakspere, His Inner Life as Intimated in His Works.

It is astonishing that Shakespear should be considered, not only by foreigners, but by many of our own critics, as a gloomy and heavy writer, who painted nothing but "gorgons and hydras, and chimæras dire." His subtlety exceeds that of all other dramatic writers, insomuch that a celebrated person of the present day said that he regarded him rather as a metaphysician than a poet. In the Midsummer-Night's Drcam alone, we should imagine, there is more sweetness and beauty of description than in the whole range of French poetry put together. What we mean is this, that we will produce out of that single play ten passages to which we do not think any ten passages in the works of the French poets can be opposed displaying equal fancy and imagery. Shall we mention the remonstrance of Helena to Hermia, or Titania's description of her fairy train, or her disputes with Oberon about the Indian boy, or Puck's account of himself and his employments, or the Fairy Queen's exhortation to the elves to pay due attendance upon her favourite, Bottom; or Hippolyta's description of a chase, or Theseus' answer? The two last are as heroical and spirited as the others are full of luscious tenderness. The reading of the play is like wandering in a grove by moonlight; the descriptions breathe a sweetness like odours thrown from beds of flowers.

Hazlitt: Characters of Shakespear's 'Plays.

A Midsummer=Night's Dream.

## DRAMATIS PERSONAE.

Theseus, Duke of Athens.
Egeus, father to Hermia.
Lysander, \}
Demetrius, $\}$ in love with Hermia.
Philostrate, master of the revels to Theseus.
Quince, a carpenter.
Snug, a joiner.
Botтом, a weaver.
Flute, a bellows-mender.
Snout, a tinker.
Starveling, a tailor.
Hippolyta, queen of the Amazons, betrothed to Theseus.
Hermia, daughter to Egeus, in love with Lysander.
Helena, in love with Demetrius.
Oberon, king of the fairies.
Titania, queen of the fairies.
Риск, or Robin Goodfellow.
Peaseblossom, Cobweb,
Мотн, Mustardseed, $\int$

Other fairies attending their King and Queen. Attendants on Theseus and Hippolyta.

Scene: Athens, and a wood near it.

## A Midsummer=Night's Dream.

## ACT FIRST.

## Scene I.

Athens. The palace of Theseus.
Enter Theseus, Hippolyta, Philostrate, and attendants.
The. Now, fair Hippolyta, our nuptial hour
Draws on apace; four happy days bring in
Another moon: but, O, methinks, how slow
This old moon wanes! she lingers my desires,
Like to a step-dame, or a dowager,
Long withering out a young man's revenue.
Hip. Four days will quickly steep themselves in night,
Four nights will quickly dream away the time;
And then the moon, like to a silver bow
New-bent in heaven, shall behold the night
Of our solemnities.
The.
Go, Philostrate,
Stir up the Athenian youth to merriments;
Awake the pert and nimble spirit of mirth:
Turn melancholy forth to funerals;
The pale companion is not for our pomp.
[Exit Philostrate.
Hippolyta, I woo'd thee with my sword,
And won thy love, doing thee injuries;
But I will wed thee in another key, With pomp, with triumph and with revelling.

Enter Egeus, Hermia, Lysander, and Demetrius.
Ege. Happy be Theseus, our renowned duke!
20
The. Thanks, good Egeus: what's the news with thee?
Ege. Full of vexation come I, with complaint
Against my child, my daughter Hermia.
Stand forth, Demetrius. My noble lord,
This man hath my consent to marry her.
Stand forth, Lysander: and, my gracious duke,
This man hath bewitch'd the bosom of my child:
Thou, thou, Lysander, thou hast given her rhymes,
And interchanged love-tokens with my child:
Thou hast by moonlight at her window sung, 30
With feigning voice, verses of feigning love;
And stolen the impression of her fantasy
With bracelets of thy hair, rings, gawds, conceits,
Knacks, trifles, nosegays, sweetmeats, messengers
Of strong prevailment in unharden'd youth :
With cunning hast thou filch'd my daughter's heart;
Turn'd her obedience, which is due to me,
To stubborn harshness: and, my gracious duke,
Be it so she will not here before your Grace
Consent to marry with Demetrius,
I beg the ancient privilege of Athens,
As she is mine, I may dispose of her:
Which shall be either to this gentleman
Or to her death, according to our law
Immediately provided in that case.
The. What say you, Hermia? be advised, fair maid:
To you your father should be as a god;
One that composed your beauties; yea, and one
To whom you are but as a form in wax

By him imprinted and within his power
To leave the figure or disfigure it.
Demetrius is a worthy gentleman.
Her. So is Lysander.
The.
In himself he is;
But in this kind, wanting your father's voice, The other must be held the worthier.
Her. I would my father look'd but with my eyes.
The. Rather your eyes must with his judgement look.
Her. I do entreat your Grace to pardon me.
I know not by what power I am made bold.
Nor how it may concern my modesty,
In such a presence here to plead my thoughts;
But I beseech your Grace that I may know
The worst that may befall me in this case, If I refuse to wed Demetrius.

## The. Either to die the death, or to abjure

For ever the society of men.
Therefore, fair Hermia, question your desires;
Know of your youth, examine well your blood,
Whether, if you yield not to your father's choice,
You can endure the livery of a nun;
For aye to be in shady cloister mew'd,
To live a barren sister all your life,
Chanting faint hymns to the cold fruitless moon.
Thrice-blessed they that master so their blood,
To undergo such maiden pilgrimage;
But earthlier happy is the rose distill'd,
Than that which, withering on the virgin thorn, Grows, lives, and dies in single blessedness.
Her. So will I grow, so live, so die, my lord,
Ere I will yield my virgin patent up

Unto his lordship, whose unwished yoke
My soul consents not to give sovereignty.
The. Take time to pause; and, by the next new moon,-
The sealing-day betwixt my love and me,
For everlasting bond of fellowship,-
Upon that day either prepare to die
For disobedience to your father's will,
Or else to wed Demetrius, as he would;
Or on Diana's altar to protest
For aye austerity and single life. 90
Dem. Relent, sweet Hermia: and, Lysander, yield Thy crazed title to my certain right.
Lys. You have her father's love, Demetrius;
Let me have Hermia's: do you marry him.
Ege. Scornful Lysander! true he hath my love,
And what is mine my love shall render him.
And she is mine, and all my right of her I do estate unto Demetrius.
Lys. I am, my lord, as well derived as he, As well possess'd; my love is more than his; IOO My fortunes every way as fairly rank'd, If not with vantage, as Demetrius'; And, which is more than all these boasts can be, I am beloved of beauteous Hermia: Why should not I then prosecute my right?
Demetrius, I'll avouch it to his head, Made love to Nedar's daughter, Helena, And won her soul; and she, sweet lady, dotes, Devoutly dotes, dotes in idolatry, Upon this spotted and inconstant man.
Thc. I must confess that I have heard so much, And with Demetrius thought to have spoke thereof;

But, being over-full of self-affairs,
My mind did lose it. But, Demetrius, come;
And come, Egeus; you shall go with me,
I have some private schooling for you both.
For you, fair Hermia, look you arm yourself
To fit your fancies to your father's will;
Or else the law of Athens yields you up,-
Which by no means we may extenuate,-
I 20
To death, or to a vow of single life.
Come, my Hippolyta: what cheer, my love?
Demetrius and Egeus, go along:
I must employ you in some business
Against our nuptial, and confer with you
Of something nearly that concerns yourselves.
Ege. With duty and desire we follow you.
[Exeunt all but Lysander and Hermia.
Lys. How now, my love! why is your cheek so pale? How chance the roses there do fade so fast?
Her. Belike for want of rain, which I could well I30
Beteem them from the tempest of my eyes.
Lys. Ay me! for aught that I could ever read, Could ever hear by tale or history, The course of true love never did run smooth; But, either it was different in blood,-
Her. O cross! too high to be enthrall'd to low.
Lys. Or else misgraffed in respect of years, -
Her. O spite! too old to be engaged to young.
Lys. Or else it stood upon the choice of friends,-
Her. O hell! to choose love by another's eyes.
Lys. Or, if there were a sympathy in choice, War, death, or sickness did lay siege to it, Making it momentany as a sound,

Swift as a shadow, short as any dream;
Brief as the lightning in the collied night,
That, in a spleen, unfolds both heaven and earth, And ere a man hath power to say 'Behold!'
The jaws of darkness do devour it up:
So quick bright things come to confusion.
Her. If then true lovers have been ever cross'd, I50
It stands as an edict in destiny:
Then let us teach our trial patience,
Because it is a customary cross,
As due to love as thoughts and dreams and sighs,
Wishes and tears, poor fancy's followers.
Lys. A good persuasion: therefore, hear me, Hermia.
I have a widow aunt, a dowager
Of great revenue, and she hath no child:
From Athens is her house remote seven leagues;
And she respects me as her only son. 160
There, gentle Hermia, may I marry thee;
And to that place the sharp Athenian law
Cannot pursue us. If thou lovest me, then,
Steal forth thy father's house to-morrow night ;
And in the wood, a league without the town,
Where I did meet thee once with Helena,
To do observance to a morn of May,
There will I stay for thee.

## Her.

My good Lysander!
I swear to thee, by Cupid's strongest bow,
By his best arrow with the golden head,
170
By the simplicity of Venus' doves,
By that which knitteth souls and prospers loves, And by that fire which burn'd the Carthage queen, When the false Troyan under sail was seen,

By all the vows that ever men have broke, In number more than ever women spoke, In that same place thou hast appointed me, To-morrow truly will I meet with thee.
Lys. Keep promise, love. Look, here comes Helena.

## Entcr Helena.

Her. God speed fair Helena! whither away? 180 Hel. Call you me fair? that fair again unsay.

Demetrius loves your fair: O happy fair!
Your eyes are lode-stars; and your tongue's sweet air
More tuneable than lark to shepherd's ear,
When wheat is green, when hawthorn buds appear.
Sickness is catching: O, were favour so,
Yours would I catch, fair Hermia, ere I go;
My ear should catch your voice, my eye your eye, My tongue should catch your tongue's sweet melody. Were the world mine, Demetrius being bated, 190
The rest I 'ld give to be to you translated.
O, teach me how you look; and with what art
You sway the motion of Demetrius' heart!
Her. I frown upon him, yet he loves me still.
Hcl . O that your frowns would teach my smiles such skill!
$H e r$. I give him curses, yet he gives me love.
Hcl . O that my prayers could such affection move!
Her. The more I hate, the more he follows me.
Hel. The more I love, the more he hateth me.
Her. His folly, Helena, is no fault of mine. 200
Hel . None, but your beauty: would that fault were mine! Her. Take comfort: he no more shall see my face;

Lysander and myself will fly this place.
Before the time I did Lysander see,

Seem'd Athens as a paradise to me:
O, then, what graces in my love do dwell,
That he hath turn'd a heaven unto a hell!
Lys. Helen, to you our minds we will unfold:
To-morrow night, when Phœbe doth behold
Her silver visage in the watery glass,
Decking with liquid pearl the bladed grass,
A time that lovers' flights doth still conceal,
Through Athens' gates have we devised to steal.
Her. And in the wood, where often you and I
Upon faint primrose-beds were wont to lie, Emptying our bosoms of their counsel sweet, There my Lysander and myself shall meet;
And thence from Athens turn away our eyes,
To seek new friends and stranger companies.
Farewell, sweet playfellow: pray thou for us; 220
And good luck grant thee thy Demetrius!
Keep word, Lysander: we must starve our sight
From lovers' food till morrow deep midnight.
Lys. I will, my Hermia.
[Exit Herm.
Helena, adieu:
As you on him, Demetrius dote on you!
[Exit.
Hel. How happy some o'er other some can be!
Through Athens I am thought as fair as she.
But what of that? Demetrius thinks not so;
He will not know what all but he do know:
And as he errs, doting on Hermia's eyes, 230
So I, admiring of his qualities:
Things base and vile, holding no quantity
Love can transpose to form and dignity:
Love looks not with the eyes, but with the mind;
And therefore is wing'd Cupid painted blind:

# Nor hath Love's mind of any judgement taste; <br> Wings, and no eyes, figure unheedy haste: <br> And therefore is Love said to be a child, Because in choice he is so oft beguiled. <br> As waggish boys in game themselves forswear, 240 <br> So the boy Love is perjured everywhere: <br> For ere Demetrius look'd on Hermia's eyne, <br> He hail'd down oaths that he was only mine; And when this hail some heat from Hermia felt, So he dissolved, and showers of oaths did melt. <br> I will go tell him of fair Hermia's flight: <br> Then to the wood will he to-morrow night <br> Pursue her; and for this intelligence <br> If I have thanks, it is a dear expense: <br> But herein mean I to enrich my pain, <br> To have his sight thither and back again. 

## Scene II.

The same. Quince's house.
Enter Quince, Snug, Bottom, Flute, Snout, and Starveling.

Quin. Is all our company here?
Bot. You were best to call them generally, man by man, according to the scrip.
Quin. Here is the scroll of every man's name, which is thought fit, through all Athens, to play in our interlude before the duke and the duchess, on his wedding-day at night.
Bot. First, good Peter Quince, say what the play treats on ; then read the names of the actors; and so grow to a point.

Quin. Marry, our play is, The most lamentable comedy, and most cruel death of Pyramus and Thisby.
Bot. A very good piece of work, I assure you, and a merry. Now, good Peter Quince, call forth your actors by the scroll. Masters, spread yourselves.
Quin. Answer as I call you. Nick Bottom, the weaver.
Bot. Ready. Name what part I am for, and proceed.
Quin. You, Nick Bottom, are set down for Pyramus. Bot. What is Pyramus? a lover, or a tyrant?
Quin. A lover, that kills himself most gallant for love.
Bot. That will ask some tears in the true performing of it: if I do it, let the audience look to their eyes; I will move storms, I will condole in some measure. To the rest: yet my chief humour is for a tyrant: I could play Ercles rarely, or a part to tear a cat in, to make all split.

The raging rocks
And shivering shocks
Shall break the locks
Of prison-gates;
And Phibbus' car
Shall shine from far,
And make and mar
The foolish Fates.
This was lofty! Now name the rest of the players. This is Ercles' vein, a tyrant's vein; a lover is more condoling.
Quin. Francis Flute, the bellows-mender.
Flu. Here, Peter Quince.

Quin. Flute, you must take Thisby on you.
Flu. What is Thisby? a wandering knight.
Quin. It is the lady that Pyramus must love.
Flu. Nay, faith, let not me play a woman; I have a beard coming.
Quin. That's all one: you shall play it in a mask, and you may speak as small as you will.
Bot. An I may hide my face, let me play Thisby too, I'1l speak in a monstrous little voice, 'Thisne, Thisne;' 'Ah Pyramus, my lover dear! thy Thisby dear, and lady dear!'
Quin. No, no; you must play Pyramus: and, Flute, you Thisby.
Bot. Well, proceed.
Quin. Robin Starveling, the tailor.
Star. Here, Peter Quince.
Quin. Robin Starveling, you must play Thisby's mother. Tom Snout, the tinker.
Snout. Here, Peter Quince.
Quin. You, Pyramus' father: myself, Thisby's father: Snug, the joiner; you, the lion's part: and, I hope, here is a play fitted.
Snug. Have you the lion's part written? pray you, if it be, give it me, for I am slow of study.
Quin. You may do it extempore, for it is nothing but roaring.
Bot. Let me play the lion too: I will roar, that I will do any man's heart good to hear me; I will roar, that I will make the duke say, 'Let him roar again, let him roar again.'
Quin. An you should do it too terribly, you would fright the duchess and the ladies, that
they would shriek; and that were enough to hang us all.
All. That would hang us, every mother's son.
Bot. I grant you, friends, if you should fright the ladies out of their wits, they would have no more discretion but to hang us: but I will aggravate my voice so, that I will roar you as gently as any sucking dove; I will roar you an 'twere any nightingale.
Quin. You can play no part but Pyramus; for
Pyramus is a sweet-faced man; a proper man, as one shall see in a summer's day; a most lovely, gentleman-like man: therefore you must needs play Pyramus.
Bot. Well, I will undertake it. What beard were I best to play it in?
Quin. Why, what you will.
Bot. I will discharge it in either your straw colour beard, your orange-tawny beard, your purple-in-grain beard, or your French crown colour beard, your perfect yellow.
Quin. Some of your French crowns have no hair at all, and then you will play barefaced. But, masters, here are your parts: and I am to entreat you, request you, and desire you, to con them by to-morrow night; and meet me in the 100 palace wood, a mile without the town, by moonlight; there will we rehearse, for if we meet in the city, we shall be dogged with company, and our devices known. In the mean time I will draw a bill of properties, such as our play wants. I pray you, fail me not.

Bot. We will meet; and there we may rehearse most obscenely and courageously. Take pains; be perfect: adieu.
Quin. At the duke's oak we meet.
Bot. Enough; hold or cut bow-strings.

## ACT SECOND.

## Scene I.



A wood near Athens.
Enter, from opposite sides, a Fairy, and Puck.
Puck. How now, spirit! whither wander you?
Fai. Over hill, over dale,
Thorough bush, thorough brier, Over park, over pale,

Thorough flood, thorough fire, I do wander every where, Swifter than the moon's sphere; And I serve the fairy queen, To dew her orbs upon the green. The cowslips tall her pensioners be: In their gold coats spots you see; Those be rubies, fairy favours, In those freckles live their savours:
I must go seek some dewdrops here, And hang a pearl in every cowslip's ear. Farewell, thou lob of spirits; I 'll be gone: Our queen and all her elves come here anon. Puck. The king doth keep his revels here to-night: Take heed the queen come not within his sight; For Oberon is passing fell and wrath,

Because that she as her attendant hath
A lovely boy, stolen from an Indian king;
She never had so sweet a changeling:
And jealous Oberon would have the child
Knight of his train, to trace the forests wild;
But she perforce withholds the loved boy,
Crowns hint with flowers, and makes him all her joy.
And now they never meet in grove or green, By fountain clear, or spangled starlight sheen, But they do square, that all their elves for fear 30 Creep into acorn cups and hide them there.
Fai. Either I mistake your shape and making quite, Or else you are that shrewd and knavish sprite Call'd Robin Goodfellow: are not you he That frights the maidens of the villagery; Skim milk, and sometimes labour in the quern, And bootless make the breathless housewife churn ;
And sometime make the drink to bear no barm, Mislead night-wanderers, laughing at their harm?
Those that Hobgoblin call you, and sweet Puck, 40 You do their work, and they shall have good luck:
Are not you he?
Puck.
Thou speak'st aright;
I am that merry wanderer of the night.
I jest to Oberon, and make him smile,
When I a fat and bean-fed horse beguile, Neighing in likeness of a filly foal:
And sometime lurk I in a gossip's bowl, In very likeness of a roasted crab;
And when she drinks, a gainst her lips I bob And on her withered dewlap pour the ale.
The wisest aunt, telling the saddest tale,

Sometime for three-foot stool mistaketh me;
Then slip I from her bum, down topples she,
And 'tailor' cries, and falls into a cough;
And then the whole quire hold their hips and laugh;
And waxen in their mirth, and neeze, and swear
A merrier hour was never wasted there.
But, room, fairy? here comes Oberon.
Fai. And here my mistress. Would that he were gone!

> Enter, from one side, Oberon, with his train; from the other, Titania, with hers.
Obe. Ill met by moonlight, proud Titania. ..... 60
Tita. What, jealous Oberon! Fairies, skip hence:

I have forsworn his bed and company.
Obe. Tarry, rash wanton: am not I thy lord?
Tita. Then I must be thy lady: but I know
When thou hast stolen away from fairy land,
And in the shape of Corin sat all day,
Playing on pipes of corn, and versing love
To amorous Phillida. Why art thou here,
Come from the farthest steppe of India?
But that, forsooth, the bouncing Amazon, 70
Your buskin'd mistress and your warrior love,
To Theseus must be wedded, and you come
To give their bed joy and prosperity.
Obe. How canst thou thus for shame, Titania,
Glance at my credit with Hippolyta,
Knowing I know thy love to Theseus?
Didst thou not lead him through the glimmering night
From Perigenia, whom he ravished?
And make him with fair Ægle break his faith, With Ariadne and Antiopa?

Tita. These are the forgeries of jealousy:
And never, since the middle summer's spring,
Met we on hill, in dale, forest, or mead,
By paved fountain or by rushy brook,
Or in the beached margent of the sea,
To dance our ringlets to the whistling wind,
But with thy brawls thou hast disturb'd our sport.
Therefore the winds, piping to us in vain,
As in revenge, have suck'd up from the sea Contagious fogs; which, falling in the land, 90 Have every pelting river made so proud,
That they have overborne their continents:
The ox hath therefore stretch'd his yoke in vain,
The ploughman lost his sweat; and the green corn
Hath rotted ere his youth attain'd a beard:
The fold stands empty in the drowned field,
And crows are fatted with the murrion flock;
The nine men's morris is fill'd up with mud;
And the quaint mazes in the wanton green,
For lack of tread, are undistinguishable:
The human mortals want their winter here;
No night is now with hymn or carol blest:
Therefore the moon, the governess of floods,
Pale in her anger, washes all the air,
That rheumatic diseases do abound.
And thorough this distemperature we see
The seasons alter: hoary-headed frosts
Fall in the fresh lap of the crimson rose;
And on old Hiems' thin and icy crown
An odorous chaplet of sweet summer buds ino
Is, as in mockery, set: the spring, the summer,
The childing autumn, angry winter, change

Their wonted liveries; and the mazed world,
By their increase, now knows not which is which:
And this same progeny of evils comes
From our debate, from our dissension;
We are their parents and original.
Obe. Do you amend it, then; it lies in you:
Why should Titania cross her Oberon?
I do but beg a little changeling boy, 120
To be my henchman.
Tita. Set your heart at rest:
The fairy land buys not the child of me.
His mother was a votaress of my order: -
And, in the spiced Indian air, by night,
Full often hath she gossip'd by my side;
And sat with me on Neptune's yellow sands,
Marking the embarked traders on the flood;
When we have laugh'd to see the sails conceive
And grow big-bellied with the wanton wind;
Which she, with pretty and with swimming gait 130
Following,-her womb then rich with my young squire,-
Would imitate, and sail upon the land,
To fetch me trifles, and return again,
As from a voyage, rich with merchandise.
But she, being mortal, of that boy did die;
And for her sake do I rear up her boy; -
And for her sake I will not part with him.
Obe. How long within this wood intend you stay?
Tita. Perchance till after Theseus' wedding-day.
If you will patiently dance in our round,
140
And see our moonlight revels, go with us;
If not, shun me, and I will spare your haunts.

Obe. Give me that boy, and I will go with thee. Tita. Not for thy fairy kingdom. Fairies, away!

We shall chide downright, if I longer stay.
[Exit Titania with her train.
Obe. Well, go thy way: thou shalt not from this grove
Till I torment thee for this injury.
My gentle Puck, come hither. Thou rememberest
Since once I sat upon a promontory,
And heard a mermaid, on a dolphin's back,
Uttering such dulcet and harmonious breath,
That the rude sea grew civil at her song,
And certain stars shot madly from their spheres,
To hear the sea-maid's music.
Puck.
I remember.
Obe. That very time I saw, but thou couldst not, Flying between the cold moon and the earth, Cupid all arm'd: a certain aim he took At a fair vestal throned by the west, And loosed his love-shaft smartly from his bow, As it should pierce a hundred thousand hearts: I6o
But I might see young Cupid's fiery shaft
Quench'd in the chaste beams of the watery moon,
And the imperial votaress passed on,
In maiden meditation, fancy-free.
Yet mark'd I where the bolt of Cupid fell:
It fell upon a little western flower,
Before milk-white, now purple with love's wound, And maidens call it love-in-idleness.
Fetch me that flower; the herb I shew'd thee once:
The juice of it on sleeping eye-lids laid
Will make or man or woman madly dote
Upon the next live creature that it sees.

Fetch me this herb; and be thou here again Ere the leviathan can swim a league.
Puck. I 'll put a girdle round about the earth In forty minutes.

I'll watch Titania when she is asleep,
And drop the liquor of it in her eyes.
The next thing then she waking looks upon, Be it on lion, bear, or wolf, or bull,
On meddling monkey, or on busy ape,
She shall pursue it with the soul of love:
And ere I take this charm from off her sight,
As I can take it with another herb,
I 'll make her render up her page to me.
But who comes here? I am invisible;
And I will overhear their conference.

## Enter Demetrius, Helena following him.

Dem. I love thee not, therefore pursue me not.
Where is Lysander and fair Hermia?
The one I 'll slay, the other slayeth me.
Thou told'st me they were stolen unto this wood;
And here am I, and wode within this wood, Because I cannot meet my Hermia. Hence, get thee gone, and follow me no more.
Hel. You draw me, you hard-hearted adamant; But yet you draw not iron, for my heart Is true as steel : leave you your power to draw, And I shall have no power to follow you.
Dem. Do I entice you? do I speak you fair?
Or, rather, do I not in plainest truth
Tell you, I do not nor I cannot love you?

## A MIDSUMMER.

Hel. And even for that do I love you the more.
I am your spaniel; and, Demetrius,
The more you beat me, I will fawn on you:
Use me but as your spaniel, spurn me, strike me,
Neglect me, lose me; only give me leave, Unworthy as I am, to follow you.
What worser place can I beg in your love,-
And yet a place of high respect with me, -
Than to be used as you use your dog?
210
Dem. Tempt not too much the hatred of my spirit ;
For I am sick when I do look on thee.
Hel. And I am sick when I look not on you.
Dem. You do impeach your modesty too much,
To leave the city, and commit yourself
Into the hands of one that loves you not;
To trust the opportunity of night
And the ill counsel of a desert place
With the rich worth of your virginity.
Hel. Your virtue is my privilege: for that 220
It is not night when I do see your face,
Therefore I think I am not in the night ;
Nor doth this wood lack worlds of company,
For you in my respect are all the world:
Then how can it be said I am alone,
When all the world is here to look on me?
Dem. I'll run from thee and hide me in the brakes, And leave thee to the mercy of wild beasts.
Hel. The wildest hath not such a heart as you.
Run when you will, the story shall be changed: 230
Apollo flies, and Daphne holds the chase;
The dove pursues the griffin; the mild hind
Makes speed to catch the tiger; bootless speed,

When cowardice pursues, and valour flies.
Dem. I will not stay thy questions; let me go:
Or, if thou follow me, do not believe
But I shall do thee mischief in the wood.
Hel. Ay, in the temple, in the town, the field,
You do me mischief. Fie, Demetrius!
Your wrongs do set a scandal on my sex :
We cannot fight for love, as men may do;
We should be woo'd, and were not made to woo.
[Exit Dem.
I' '11 follow thee, and make a heaven of hell, To die upon the hand I love so well.
Obe. Fare thee well, nymph: ere he do leave this grove,
Thou shalt fly him, and he shall seek thy love.
Re-enter Puck.

Hast thou the flower there? Welcome, wanderer. Puck. Ay, there it is. Obe. I pray thee, give it me. I know a bank where the wild thyme blows, Where oxlips and the nodding violet grows;
Quite over-canopied with luscious woodbine, With sweet musk-roses, and with eglantine: There sleeps Titania sometime of the night, Lull'd in these flowers with dances and delight; And there the snake throws her enamell'd skin, Weed wide enough to wrap a fairy in : And with the juice of this I'll streak her eyes, And make her full of hateful fantasies. Take thou some of it, and seek through this grove: A sweet Athenian lady is in love
With a disdainful youth: anoint his eyes;

But do it when the next thing he espies
May be the lady: thou shalt know the man
By the Athenian garments he hath on.
Effect it with some care that he may prove
More fond on her than she upon her love:
And look thou meet me ere the first cock crow. Puck. Fear not, my lord, your servant shall do so.
[Exeunt.

## Scene II.

Another part of the wood.
Enter Titania, with her train.
Tita. Come, now a roundel and a fairy song;
Then, for the third part of a minute, hence;
Some to kill cankers in the musk-rose buds;
Some war with rere-mice for their leathern wings,
To make my small elves coats ; and some keep back
The clamorous owl, that nightly hoots and wonders
At our quaint spirits. Sing me now asleep;
Then to your offices, and let me rest.
Song.
Fir. Fairy. You spotted snakes with double tongue, Thorny hedgehogs, be not seen;
Newts and blind-worms, do no wrong, Come not near our fairy queen.

Chorus.
Philomel, with melody Sing in our sweet lullaby;
Lulla, lulla, lu1laby, lulla, lulla, lullaby:
Never harm, Nor spell, nor charm,


Obe. "What thou see'st when thou dost wake, Do it for thy true-love take ${ }^{\prime}$
Midsummer-nlight's Dream. Act 2 , Scene 2.

Come our lovely lady nigh ;
So, good night, with lullaby.
Fir. Fairy. Weaving spiders, come not here; 20
Hence, you long-legg'd spinners, hence!
Beetles black, approach not near;
Worm nor snail, do no offence.

## Chorus.

Philomel, with melody, \&c.
Sec. Fairy. Hence, away! now all is well:
One aloof stand sentinel.
[Exeunt Fairies. Titania sleeps.
Enter Oberon, and squeezes the flower on Titania's eyelids.

Obe. What thou seest when thou dost wake, Do it for thy true-love take; Love and languish for his sake: Be it ounce, or cat, or bear, 30 Pard, or boar with bristled hair, In thy eye that shall appear When thou wakest, it is thy dear: Wake when some vile thing is near. [Exit.

Enter Lysander and Hermia.
Iys. Fair love, you faint with wandering in the wood; And to speak troth, I have forgot our way:
We 'll rest us, Hermia, if you think it good, And tarry for the comfort of the day.
Her. Be it so, Lysander: find you out a bed; For I upon this bank will rest my head.
Lys. One turf shall serve as pillow for us both;
One heart, one bed, two bosoms, and one troth.

Her. Nay, good Lysander; for my sake, my dear, Lie further off yet, do not lie so near.
$L y s$. O, take the sense, sweet, of my innocence!
Love takes the meaning in love's conference.
I mean, that my heart unto yours is knit,
So that but one heart we can make of it:
Two bosoms interchained with an oath;
So then two bosoms and a single troth.
Then by your side no bed-room me deny;
For lying so, Hermia, I do not lie.
Her. Lysander riddles very prettily:
Now much beshrew my manners and my pride,
If Hermia meant to say Lysander lied.
But, gentle friend, for love and courtesy
Lie further off; in human modesty,
Such separation as may well be said
Becomes a virtuous bachelor and a maid,
So far be distant; and, good night, sweet friend: 60
Thy love ne'er alter till thy sweet life end!
Lys. Amen, amen, to that fair prayer, say I;
And then end life when I end loyalty!
Here is my bed: sleep give thee all his rest!
Her. With half that wish the wisher's eyes be press'd!
[They sleep.

## Enter Puck.

Puck. Through the forest have I gone, But Athenian found I none, On whose eyes I might approve This flower's force in stirring love. Night and silence.-Who is here? Weeds of Athens he doth wear:

This is he, my master said,
Despised the Athenian maid;
And here the maiden, sleeping sound, On the dank and dirty ground. Pretty soul! she durst not lie Near this lack-love, this kill-courtesy. Churl, upon thy eyes I throw All the power this charm doth owe. When thou wakest, let love forbid

80 Sleep his seat on thy eyelid: So awake when I am gone; For I must now to Oberon. Exit.

Enter Demetrius and Helena, running.
Hel. Stay, though thou kill me, sweet Demetrius.
Dem. I charge thee, hence, and do not haunt me thus.
Hel. O, wilt thou darkling leave me? do not so. Dem. Stay; on thy peril: I alone will go. [Exit. Hel. O, I am out of breath in this fond chase:

The more my prayer, the lesser is my grace.
Happy is Hermia, wheresoe'er she lies;
For she hath blessed and attractive eyes.
How came her eyes so bright? Not with salt tears:
If so, my eyes are oftener wash'd than hers.
No, no, I am as ugly as a bear;
For beasts that meet me run away for fear:
Therefore no marvel though Demetrius
Do, as a monster, fly my presence thus.
What wicked and dissembling glass of mine
Made me compare with Hermia's sphery eyne?
But who is here? Lysander! on the ground! 100
Dead? or asleep? I see no blood, no wound.

Lysander, if you live, good sir, awake.
Lys. [Awaking] And run through fire I will for thy sweet sake.
Transparent Helena! Nature shews art,
That through thy bosom makes me see thy heart.
Where is Demetrius? O, how fit a word
Is that vile name to perish on my sword!
Hel. Do not say so, Lysander ; say not so.
What though he love your Hermia? Lord, what though?
Yet Hermia still loves you: then be content. IIO
Lys. Content with Hermia! No; I do repent
The tedious minutes I with her have spent.
Not Hermia but Helena I love:
Who will not change a raven for a dove?
The will of man is by his reason sway'd
And reason says you are the worthier maid.
Things growing are not ripe until their season:
So I, being young, till now ripe not to reason ;
And touching now the point of human skill,
Reason becomes the marshal to my will,
And leads me to your eyes; where I o'erlook
Love's stories, written in Love's richest book.
Hel. Wherefore was I to this keen mockery born?
When at your hands did I deserve this scorn?
Is 't not enough, is 't not enough, young man,
That I did never, no, nor never can,
Deserve a sweet look from Demetrius' eye,
But you must flout my insufficiency?
Good troth, you do me wrong, good sooth, you do,
In such disdainful manner me to woo. I30

But fare you well: perforce I must confess
I thought you lord of more true gentleness.
O , that a lady, of one man refused,
Should of another therefore be abused! [Exit.
Lys. She sees not Hermia. Hermia, sleep thou there:
And never mayst thou come Lysander near!
For as a surfeit of the sweetest things
The deepest loathing to the stomach brings,
Or as the heresies that men do leave
Are hated most of those they did deceive,
I40
So thou, my surfeit and my heresy,
Of all be hated, but the most of me!
And, all my powers, address your love and might To honour Helen and to be her knight! [Exit.
Her. [Awaking] Help me, Lysander, help me! do thy best
To pluck this crawling serpent from my breast!
Ay me, for pity! what a dream was here!
Lysander, look how I do quake with fear:
Methought a serpent eat my heart away, And you sat smiling at his cruel prey.

150
Lysander! what, removed? Lysander! lord!
What, out of hearing? gone? no sound, no word?
Alack, where are you? speak, an if you hear ;
Speak, of all loves! I swoon almost with fear.
No? then I well perceive you are not nigh:
Either death or you I'll find immediately.
[Exit.

## ACT THIRD.

## Scene I.

## The wood. Titania lying asleep.

Enter Quince, Snug, Bottom, Flute, Snout, and Starveling.

Bot. Are we all met?
Quin. Pat, pat; and here's a marvellous convenient place for our rehearsal. This green plot shall be our stage, this hawthorn-brake our tiringhouse; and we will do it in action as we will do it before the duke.
Bot. Peter Quince,-
Quin. What sayest thou, Bully Bottom?
Bot. There are things in this comedy of Pyramus and Thisby that will never please. First, Pyr- 10 amus must draw a sword to kill himself; which the ladies cannot abide. How answer you that?
Snout. By 'r lakin, a parlous fear.
Star. I believe we must leave the killing out, when all is done.
Bot. Not a whit: I have a device to make all well. Write me a prologue; and let the prologue seem to say, we will do no harm with our swords, and that Pyramus is not killed indeed; and, for the more better assurance, tell them that I Pyramus am not Pyramus, but Bottom the weaver: this will put them out of fear.
Quin. Well, we will have such a prologue; and it shall be written in eight and six.

Bot. No, make it two more ; let it be written in eight and eight.
Snout. Will not the ladies be afeard of the lion?
Star. I fear it, I promise you.
Bot. Masters, you ought to consider with yourselves: 30
to bring in,-God shield us!-a lion among ladies, is a most dreadful thing; for there is not a more fearful wild-fowl than your lion living; and we ought to look to 't.
Snout. Therefore another prologue must tell he is not a lion.
Bot. Nay, you must name his name, and half his face must be seen through the lion's neck; and he himself must speak through, saying thus, or to the same defect,--' Ladies,'-or, 'Fair ladies, -I would wish you,'-or, ' I would request you,' -or, ' I would entreat you,-not to fear, not to tremble: my life for yours. If you think I come hither as a lion, it were pity of my life: no, I am no such thing; I am a man as other men are:' and there indeed let him name his name, and tell them plainly, he is Snug the joiner.
Quin. Well, it shall be so. But there is two hard things; that is, to bring the moonlight into a chamber; for, you know, Pyramus and Thisby 50 meet by moonlight.
Snout. Doth the moon shine that night we play our play?
Bot. A calendar, a calendar! look in the almanac; find out moonsliine, find out moonshine.
Quin. Yes, it doth shine that night.
Bot. Why, then may you leave a casement of the
great chamber window, where we play, open, and the moon may shine in at the casement.
Quin. Ay; or else one must come in with a bush of 60 thorns and a lantern, and say he comes to disfigure, or to present, the person of moonshine. Then, there is another thing: we must have a wall in the great chamber; for Pyramus and Thisby, says the story, did talk through the chink of a wall.
Snout. You can never bring in a wall. What say you, Bottom?
Bot. Some man or other must present wall: and let him have some plaster, or some loam, or some rough-cast about him, to signify wall; and let him hold his fingers thus, and through that cranny shall Pyramus and Thisby whisper.
Quin. If that may be, then all is well. Come, sit down, every mother's son, and rehearse your parts. Pyramus, you begin: when you have spoken your speech, enter into that brake: and so every one according to his cue.

## Enter Puck behind.

Puck. What hempen home-spuns have we swaggering here,
So near the cradle of the fairy queen?
What, a play toward! I 'll be an auditor;
An actor too perhaps, if I see cause.
Quin. Speak, Pyramus. Thisby, stand forth.
Bot. Thisby, the flowers of odious savours sweet,Quin. Odours, odours.
Bot. -odours savours sweet:
So hath thy breath, my dearest Thisby dear.

But hark, a voice! stay thou but here awhile, And by and by I will to thee appear. [Exit. Puck. A stranger Pyramus than e'er played here. 90 [Exit.
Flu. Must I speak now?
Quin. Ay, marry, must you; for you must understand he goes but to see a noise that he heard, and is to come again.
Flu. Most radiant Pyramus, most lily-white of hue, Of colour like the red rose on triumphant brier. Most brisky juvenal, and eke most lovely Jew,

As true as truest horse, that yet would never tire, I 'll meet thee, Pyramus, at Ninny's tomb.
Quin. 'Ninus' tomb,' man: why, you must not speak 100 that yet; that you answer to Pyramus: you speak all your part at once, cues and all. Pyramus enter: your cue is past; it is ' never tire.'
Flu. O,-As true as truest horse, that yet would never tire.

Re-enter Puck, and Bottom with an ass's head.
Bot. If I were fair, Thisby, I were only thine.
Quin. O monstrous! O strange! we are haunted.
Pray, masters! fly, masters! Help!
[Exeunt Quince, Snug, Flute, Snout, and Starveling.
Puck. I'll follow you, I 'll lead you about a round,
Through bog, through bush, through brake, through brier:

I 10
Sometime a horse I 'll be, sometime a hound, A hog, a headless bear, sometime a fire:

And neigh, and bark, and grunt, and roar, and burn,
Like horse, hound, hog, bear, fire, at every turn.
[Exit.
Bot. Why do they run away? this is a knavery of them to make me afeard.

Re-enter Snout.
Snout. O Bottom, thou art changed! what do I see on thee?
Bot. What do you see? you see an ass-head of your own, do you? [Exit Snout. 120

Re-enter Quince.
Quin. Bless thee, Bottom! bless thee! thou art translated.
[Exit.
Bot. I see their knavery: this is to make an ass of me; to fright me, if they could. But I will not stir from this place, do what they can: I will walk up and down here, and I will sing, that they shall hear I am not afraid.
[Sings.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { The ousel cock so black of hue, } \\
& \text { With orange-tawny bill, } \\
& \text { The throstle with his note so true, } \\
& \text { The wren with little quill; }
\end{aligned}
$$

Tita. [Awaking] What angel wakes me from my flowery bed?
Bot. [Sings]
The finch, the sparrow, and the lark, The plain-song cuckoo gray,
Whose note full many a man doth mark, And dares not answer nay; -
for, indeed, who would set his wit to so foolish a bird? who would give a bird the lie, though he cry ' cuckoo' never so?
Tita. I pray thee, gentle mortal, sing again:
Mine ear is much enamour'd of thy note;
So is mine eye enthralled to thy shape;
And thy fair virtue's force perforce doth move me On the first view to say, to swear, I love thee.
Bot. Methinks, mistress, you should have little reason for that: and yet, to say the truth, reason and love keep little company together now-adays ; the more the pity, that some honest neighbours will not make them friends. Nay, I can I50 gleek upon occasion.
Tita. Thou art as wise as thou art beautiful.
Bot. Not so, neither: but if I had wit enough to get out of this wood, I have enough to serve mine own turn.
Tita. Out of this wood do not desire to go:
Thou shalt remain here, whether thou wilt or no.
I am a spirit of no common rate:
The summer still doth tend upon my state;
And I do love thee: therefore, go with me; I60
I 'll give thee fairies to attend on thee;
And they shall fetch thee jewels from the deep,
And sing, while thou on pressed flowers dost sleep:
And I will purge thy mortal grossness so,
That thou shalt like an airy spirit go.
Peaseblossom! Cobweb! Moth! and Mustardseed!

Enter Peaseblossom, Cobweb, Moth, and Mustardseed.
First Fai. Ready.

Sec. Fai. And I.
Third Fai.
Fourth Fai.
All.

And I. And I.

Where shall we go?
Tita. Be kind and courteous to this gentleman;
Hop in his walks, and gambol in his eyes;
Feed him with apricocks and dewberries, I70
With purple grapes, green figs, and mulberries;
The honey-bags steal from the humble-bees,
And for night-tapers crop their waxen thighs,
And light them at the fiery glow-worm's eyes,
To have my love to bed and to arise;
And pluck the wings from painted butterflies, To fan the moonbeams from his sleeping eyes:
Nod to him, elves, and do him courtesies.
First Fai. Hail, mortal!
Sec. Fai. Hail!
Third Fai. Hail!
Fourth Fai. Hail!
Bot. I cry your worships mercy, heartily : I beseech your worship's name.
Cob. Cobweb.
Bot. I shall desire you of more acquaintance, good Master Cobweb: if I cut my finger, I shall make bold with you. Your name, honest gentleman?
Peas. Peaseblossom.
Bot. I pray you, commend me to Mistress Squash, 190 your mother, and to Master Peascod, your father. Good Master Peaseblossom, I shall desire you of more acquaintance too. Your name, I beseech you, sir?
Mus. Mustardseed.


[^33]Bot. Good Master Mustardseed, I know your patience well: that same cowardly, giant-like oxbeef hath devoured many a gentleman of your house: I promise you your kindred hath made my eyes water ere now. I desire your more ac- 200 quaintance, good Master Mustardseed.
Tita. Come, wait upon him; lead him to my bower.
The moon methinks looks with a watery eye;
And when she weeps, weeps every little flower, Lamenting some enforced chastity.
Tie up my love's tongue, bring him silently.
[Exeunt.

## Scene II.

'Another part of the wood.
Enter Oberon.
Obe. I wonder if Titania be awaked;
Then, what it was that next came in her eye,
Which she must dote on in extremity.

> Enter Puck.

Here comes my messenger.
How now, mad spirit!
What night-rule now about this haunted grove?
Puck. My mistress with a monster is in love.
Near to her close and consecrated bower,
While she was in her dull and sleeping hour,
A crew of patches, rude mechanicals, That work for bread upon Athenian stalls,
Were met together to rehearse a play, Intended for great Theseus' nuptial-day.

The shallowest thick-skin of that barren sort, Who Pyramus presented, in their sport
Forsook his scene, and enter'd in a brake: When I did him at this advantage take, An ass's nole I fixed on his head: Anon his Thisbe must be answered, And forth my mimic comes. When they him spy, As wild geese that the creeping fowler eye,
Or russet-pated choughs, many in sort, Rising and cawing at the gun's report, Sever themselves and madly sweep the sky, So, at his sight, away his fellows fly;
And, at our stamp, here o'er and o'er one falls;
He murder cries, and help from Athens calls.
Their sense thus weak, lost with their fears thus strong,
Made senseless things begin to do them wrong ;
For briers and thorns at their apparel snatch ;
Some sleeves, some hats, from yielders all things catch.
I led them on in this distracted fear,
And left sweet Pyramus translated there;
When in that moment, so it came to pass,
Titania waked, and straightway loved an ass.
Obe. This falls out better than I could devise.
But hast thou yet latch'd the Athenian's eyes
With a love-juice, as I did bid thee do?
Puck. I took him sleeping,-that is finish'd too,-
And the Athenian woman by his side;
That, when he waked, of force she must be eyed. 40
Enter Hermia and Demetrius.
Obe. Stand close: this is the same Athenian.
'Puck. This is the woman, but not this the man.
Dem. O, why rebuke you him that loves you so?
Lay breath so bitter on your bitter foe.
Her. Now I but chide; but I should use thee worse, For thou, I fear, hast given me cause to curse.
If thou hast slain Lysander in his sleep,
Being o'er shoes in blood, plunge in the deep, And kill me too.
The sun was not so true unto the day
As he to me: would he have stolen away From sleeping Hermia? I 'll believe as soon This whole earth may be bored, and that the moon May through the centre creep, and so displease Her brother's noontide with the Antipodes. It cannot be but thou hast murder'd him; So should a murderer look, so dead, so grim.
Dem. So should the murder'd look; and so should I, Pierced through the heart with your stern cruelty: Yet you, the murderer, look as bright, as clear, 60 As yonder Venus in her glimmering sphere.
Her. What's this to my Lysander? where is he? Ah, good Demetrius, wilt thou give him me?
Dem. I had rather give his carcass to my hounds.
Her. Out, dog! out, cur! thou drivest me past the bounds
Of maiden's patience. Hast thou slain him, then?
Henceforth be never number'd among men!
O, once tell true, tell true, even for my sake!
Durst thou have look'd upon him being awake, And hast thou kill'd him sleeping? O brave touch!
Could not a worm, an adder, do so much ?
An adder did it; for with doubler tongue
Than thine, thou serpent, never adder stung.

Dem. You spend your passion on a misprised mood: I am not guilty of Lysander's blood;
Nor is he dead, for aught that I can tell.
Her. I pray thee, tell me then that he is well.
Dem. An if I could, what should I get therefore?
Her. A privilege, never to see me more.
And from thy hated presence part I so:
See me no more, whether he be dead or no. [Exit.
Dem. There is no following her in this fierce vein:
Here therefore for a while I will remain.
So sorrow's heaviness doth heavier grow
For debt that bankrupt sleep doth sorrow owe;
Which now in some slight measure it will pay,
If for his tender here I make some stay.
[Lies down and sleeps.
Obe. What hast thou done? thou hast mistaken quite,
And laid the love-juice on some true-love's sight:
Of thy misprision must perforce ensue
Some true love turn'd, and not a false turn'd true.
Puck. Then fate o'er-rules' that, one man holding troth,
A million fail, confounding oath on oath.
Obe. About the wood go swifter than the wind,
And Helena of Athens look thou find:
All fancy-sick she is and pale of cheer,
With sighs of love, that costs the fresh blood dear:
By some illusion see thoul bring her here:
I'll charm his eyes against she do appear.
Puck. I go, I go ; look how I go,
100
Swifter than arrow from the Tartar's bow. [Exit.
Obe. Flower of this purple dye, Hit with Cupid's archery,

Sink in apple of his eye
When his love he doth espy,
Let her shine as gloriously
As the Venus of the sky.
When thou wakest, if she be by, Beg of her for remedy.

Re-enter Puck.

| Puck. | Captain of our fairy band |
| :---: | :---: |
|  | Helena is here at hand; |
|  | And the youth, mistook by me, |
|  | Pleading for a lover's fee. |
|  | Shall we their fond pageant see? |
|  | Lord, what fools these mortals be! |
| Obe. | Stand aside: the noise they make |
|  | Will cause Demetrius to awake. |
| Puck. | Then will two at once woo one; |
|  | That must needs be sport alone: |
|  | And those things do best please me |
|  | That befall preposterously. |

Enter Lysander and Helena.
Lys. Why should you think that I should woo in scorn?
Scorn and derision never come in tears: Look, when I vow, I weep; and vows so born, In their nativity all truth appears. How can these things in me seem scorn to you, Bearing the badge of faith, to prove them true?
Hel. You do advance your cunning more and more.
When truth kills truth, O devilish-holy fray!
These vows are Hermia's: will you give her o'er? I30
Weigh oath with oath, and you will nothing weigh:

Your vows to her and me put in two scales, Will even weigh ; and both as light as tales.
Lys. I had no judgement when to her I swore.
Hel. Nor none, in my mind, now you give her o'er.
Lys. Demetrius loves her, and he loves not you.
Dem. [Awaking] O Helen, goddess, nymph, perfect, divine!
To what, my love, shall I compare thine eyne?
Crystal is muddy. O, how ripe in show
Thy lips, those kissing cherries, tempting grow! 140
That pure congealed white, high Taurus' snow,
Fann'd with the eastern wind, turns to a crow
When thou hold'st up thy hand: $O$, let me kiss
This princess of pure white, this seal of bliss!
Hel. O spite! O hell! I see you all are bent
To set against me for your merriment:
If you were civil and knew courtesy,
You would not do me thus much injury.
Can you not hate me, as I know you do,
But you must join in souls to mock me too?
If you were men, as men you are in show,
You would not use a gentle lady so ;
To vow, and swear, and superpraise my parts,
When I am sure you hate me with your hearts.
You both are rivals, and love Hermia ;
And now both rivals, to mock Helena;
A trim exploit, a manly enterprise,
To conjure tears up in a poor maid's eyes
With your derision! none of noble sort
Would so offend a virgin, and extort
A poor soul's patience, all to make you sport.
Lys. You are unkind, Demetrius; be not so;
For you love ITermia ; this you know I know :

And here, with all good will, with all my heart, In Hermia's love I yield you up my part; And yours of Helena to me bequeath, Whom I do love, and will do till my death.
Hel. Never did mockers waste more idle breath. Dcm. Lysander, keep thy Hermia; I will none: If e'er I loved her, all that love is gone.
My heart to her but as guest-wise sojourn'd, And now to Helen is it home return'd, There to remain.
Lys. Helen, it is not so.
Dem. Disparage not the faith thou dost not know, Lest, to thy peril, thou aby it dear. Look, where thy love comes; yonder is thy dear.

## Re-enter Hermia.

Her. Dark night, that from the eye his function takes,
The ear more quick of apprehension makes;
Wherein it doth impair the seeing sense,
It pays the hearing double recompence.
180
Thou art not by mine eye, Lysander, found;
Mine ear, I thank it, brought me to thy sound.
But why unkindly didst thou leave me so?
Lys. Why should he stay, whom love doth press to go?
Her. What love could press Lysander from my side?
Lys. Lysander's love, that would not let him bide, Fair Helena, who more engilds the night
Than all yon fiery oes and eyes of light.
Why seek 'st thou me? could not this make thee know,
The hate I bear thee made me leave thee so? Igo
Her. You speak not as you think: it cannot be.
Hel. Lo, she is one of this confederacy!

Now I perceive they have conjoin'd all three To fashion this false sport, in spite of me. Injurious Hermia ! most ungrateful maid! Have you conspired, have you with these contrived
To bait me with this foul derision ?
Is all the counsel that we two have shared,
The sisters' vows, the hours that we have spent,
When we have chid the hasty-footed time 200
For parting us, - O, is all forgot?
All school-days' friendship, childhood innocence?
We, Hermia, like two artificial gods,
Have with our needles created both one flower,
Both on one sampler, sitting on one cushion,
Both warbling of one song, both in one key;
As if our hands, our sides, voices, and minds,
Had been incorporate. So we grew together,
Like to a double cherry, seeming parted,
But yet an union in partition;
210
Two lovely berries moulded on one stem;
So, with two seeming bodies, but one heart:
Two of the first, like coats in heraldry,
Due but to one, and crowned with one crest.
And will you rent our ancient love asunder,
To join with men in scorning your poor friend?
It is not friendly, 'tis not maidenly :
Our sex, as well as I, may chide you for it, Though I alone do feel the injury.
Her. I am amazed at your passionate words. 220
I scorn you not: it seems that you scorn me.
Hel. Have you not set Lysander, as in scorn,
To follow me and praise my eyes and face?
And made your other love, Demetrius,

Who even but now did sfarn me with his foot, To call me goddess, nymph, divine and rare, Precious, celestial? Wherefore speaks he this To her he hates? and wherefore doth Lysander Deny your love, so rich within his soul, And tender me, forsooth, affection,
But by your setting on, by your consent?
What though I be not so in grace as you, So hung upon with love, so fortunate, But miserable most, to love unloved? This you should pity rather than despise.
Her. I understand not what you mean by this. Hel. Ay, do, persever, counterfeit sad looks, Make mouths upon me when I turn my back;
Wink each at other; hold the sweet jest up:
This sport, well carried, shall be chronicled.
If you have any pity, grace, or manners,
You would not make me such an argument.
But fare ye well: 'tis partly my own fault;
Which death or absence soon shall remedy.
Lys. Stay, gentle Helena; hear my excuse:
My love, my life, my soul, fair Helena!
Hel. O excellent!
Her.
Sweet, do not scorn her so.
Dem. If she cannot entreat, I can compel.
Lys. Thou canst compel no more than she entreat:
Thy threats have no more strength than her weak prayers.

250
Helen, I love thee; by my life, I do :
I swear by that which I will lose for thee, To prove him false that says I love thee not.
Dem. I say I love thee more than he can do.

Lys. If thou say so, withdraw, and prove it too. Dem. Quick, come!
Her. Lysander, whereto tends all this?
Lys. Away, you Ethiope!
Dem. No, no; he 'll [stay].
Seem to break loose; take on as you would follow, But yet come not: you are a tame man, go !
Lys. Hang off, thou cat, thou burr! vile thing, let loose, Or I will shake thee from me like a serpent! 261
Her. Why are you grown so rude? what change is this? Sweet love, -
Lys. Thy love! out, tawny Tartar, out!
Out, loathed medicine! hated potion, hence!
Her. Do you not jest?
Hel.
Yes, sooth; and so do you.
Lys. Demetrius, I will keep my word with thee.
Dem. I would I had your bond, for I perceive
A weak bond holds you: I 'll not trust your word.
Lys. What, should I hurt her, strike her, kill her dead? Although I hate her, I 'll not harm her so.
Her. What, can you do me greater harm than hate?
Hate me! wherefore? O me! what news, my love!
Am not I Hermia? are not you Lysander?
I am as fair now as I was erewhile.
Since night you loved me; yet since night you left me:
Why, then you left me,-O, the gods forbid!-
In earnest, shall I say?
Lys. Ay, by my life;
And never did desire to see thee more.
Therefore be out of hope, of question, of doubt;
Be certain, nothing truer; 'tis no jest
280
That I do hate thee, and love Helena.

Her. O me! you juggler! you canker-blossom!
You thief of love! what, have you come by night And stolen my love's heart from him?
Hel. Fine, i' faith!
Have you no modesty, no maiden shame, No touch of bashfulness? What, will you tear Impatient answers from my gentle tongue? Fie, fie! you counterfeit, you puppet, you!
Her. Puppet? why so? ay, that way goes the game. Now I perceive that she hath made compare 290
Between our statures; she hath urged her height; And with her personage, her tall personage, Her height, forsooth, she hath prevail'd with him. And are you grown so high in his esteem, Because I am so dwarfish and so low?
How low am I, thou painted maypole? speak;
How low am I! I am not yet so low
But that my nails can reach unto thine eyes.
Hel. I pray you, though you mock me, gentlemen,
Let her not hurt me: I was never curst ;
I have no gift at all in shrewishness;
I am a right maid for my cowardice:
Let her not strike me. You perhaps may think, Because she is something lower than myself, That I can match her.
Her. Lower! hark, again. Hel. Good Hermia, do not be so bitter with me. I evermore did love you, Hermia,
Did ever keep your counsels, never wrong'd you;
Save that, in love unto Demetrius,
I told him of your stealth unto this wood.
He follow'd you; for love I follow'd him;

But he hath chid me hence, and threaten'd me
To strike me, spurn me, nay, to kill me too:
And now, so you will. let me quiet go,
To Athens will I bear my folly back,
And follow you no further: let me go :
You see how simple and how fond I am.
'Her. Why, get you gone: who is 't that hinders you?
Hel. A foolish heart, that I leave here behind.
Her. What, with Lysander?
Hel. With Demetrius.
320
Lys. Be not afraid; she shall not harm thee, Helena.
Dem. No, sir, she shall not, though you take her part.
Hel. O, when she's angry, she is keen and shrewd!
She was a vixen when she went to school ;
And though she be but little, she is fierce.
Her. Little again! nothing but low and little!
Why will you suffer her to flout me thus?
Let me come to her.
Ly's.
Get you gone, you dwarf ;
You minimus, of hindering knot-grass made;
You bead, you acorn.
Dem.
You are too officious
In her behalf that scorns your services.
Let her alone: speak not of Helena;
Take not her part; for, if thou dost intend Never so little show of love to her,
Thou shalt aby it.
Lys. Now she holds me not;
Now follow, if thou darest, to try whose right,
Of thine or mine, is most in Helena.
Dem. Follow! nay, I'll go with thee, cheek by jole.
[Exeunt Lysander and Demetrius.
Her. You, mistress, all this coil is 'long of youNay, go not back.
Hel. I will not trust you, I ..... 340
Nor longer stay in your curst company.Your hands than mine are quicker for a fray.My legs are longer though, to run away.[Exit.
Her. I am amazed, and know not what to say. ..... [Exit.
Obe. This is thy negligence: still thou mistakest,Or else committ'st thy knaveries wilfully.Puck. Believe me, king of shadows, I mistook.Did not you tell me I should know the manBy the Athenian garments he had on?And so far blameless proves my enterprise,350That I have 'nointed an Athenian's eyes;And so far am I glad it so did sort,As this their jangling I esteem a sport.
Obe. Thou see'st these lovers seek a place to fight:Hie therefore, Robin, overcast the night;The starry welkin cover thou anonWith drooping fog, as black as Acheron;And lead these testy rivals so astray,As one come not within another's way.
Like to Lysander sometime frame thy tongue, ..... 360
Then stir Demetrius up with bitter wrong;
And sometime rail thou like Demetrius;And from each other look thou lead them thus,Till o'er their brows death-counterfeiting sleepWith leaden legs and batty wings doth creep:Then crush this herb into Lysander's eye;Whose liquor hath this virtuous property,To take from thence all error with his might,And make his eyeballs roll with wonted sight.

When they next wake, all this derision
Shall seem a dream and fruitless vision;
And back to Athens shall the lovers wend,
With league whose date till death shall never end.
Whiles I in this affair do thee employ,
I'll to my queen and beg her Indian boy;
And then I will her charmed eye release
From monster's view, and all things shall be peace.
Puck. My fairy lord, this must be done with haste,
For night's swift dragons cut the clouds full fast, And yonder shines Aurora's harbinger; 380
At whose approach, ghosts, wandering here and there,
Troop home to churchyards: damned spirits all, That in crossways and floods have burial, Already to their wormy beds are gone; For fear lest day should look their shames upon, They wilfully themselves exile from light, And must for aye consort with black-brow'd night.
Obe. But we are spirits of another sort:
I with the morning's love have oft made sport ;
And, like a forester, the groves may tread,
390
Even till the eastern gate, all fiery-red,
Opening on Neptune with fair blessed beams,
Turns into yellow gold his salt green streams.
But, notwithstanding, haste; make no delay:
We may effect this business yet ere day.
Puck. Up and down, up and down, I will lead them up and down:
I am fear'd in field and town: Goblin, lead them up and down.
Here comes one.

Re-enter Lysander.
Lys. Where art thou, proud Demetrius? speak thou now. Puck. Here, villain; drawn and ready. Where art thou? Lys. I will be with thee straight.
Puck.
To plainer ground.
[Exit Lysander, as following the voice.
Re-enter Demetrius.
Dem. Lysander! speak again:
Thou runaway, thou coward, art thou fled?
Speak! In some bush? Where dost thou hide thy head?
Puck. Thou coward, art thou bragging to the stars,
Telling the bushes that thou look'st for wars,
And wilt not come? Come, recreant; come, thou child;
I'll whip thee with a rod; he is defiled 410
That draws a sword on thee.
Dem. Yea, are thou there?
Puck. Follow my voice: we 'll try no manhood here.
[Exeunt.
Re-enter Lysander.
Lys. He goes before me and still dares me on:
When I come where he calls, then he is gone.
The villain is much lighter-heel'd than I:
I follow'd fast, but faster he did fly;
That fallen am I in dark uneven way,
And here will rest me. [Lies down.] Come, thou gentle day!
For if but once thou show me thy grey light,
I'll find Demetrius, and revenge this spite. [Sleeps.

Re-enter Puck and Demetrius.
Puck. Ho, ho, ho! Coward, why comest thou not? 421 Dem. Abide me, if thou darest; for well I wot

Thou runn'st before me, shifting every place,
And darest not stand, nor look me in the face.
Where art thou now?
Puck.
Come hither: I am here.
Dem. Nay, then, thou mock'st me. Thou shalt buy this dear,
If ever I thy face by daylight see:
Now, go thy way. Faintness constraineth me
To measure out my length on this cold bed.
By day's approach look to be visited. 430
[Lies down and sleeps.
Re-enter Helena.
Hel. O weary night, O long and tedious night, Abate thy hours! Shine comforts from the east.
That I may back to Athens by daylight, From these that my poor company detest: And sleep, that sometimes shuts up sorrow's eye, Steal me awhile from mine own company.
[Lies down and sleeps.
$\begin{array}{ll}\text { Puck. Yet but three? Come one more; } \\ & \\ \text { Two of both kinds makes up four. } \\ \text { Here she comes, curst and sad : } \\ \text { Cupid is a knavish lad, } \\ \text { Thus to make poor females mad. }\end{array}$
Re-enter Hermia.
Her. Never so weary, never so in woe;
Bedabbled with the dew, and torn with briers;
I can no further crawl, no further go ; My legs can keep no pace with my desires.
Here will I rest me till the break of day.
Heavens shield Lysander, if they mean a fray!
[Lies down and sleeps.

## Puck.

On the ground Sleep sound: I 'll apply 450 To your eye, Gentle lover, remedy.
[Squeezing the juice on Lysander's eye. When thou wakest, Thou takest True delight In the sight
Of thy former lady's eye: And the country proverb known, That every man should take his own, In your waking shall be shown: 460
Jack shall have Jill;
Nought shall go ill;
The man shall have his mare again, and all shall be well.
[Exit.

## ACT FOURTH.

## Scene I.

The same.
Lysander, Demetrius, Helena, and Hermia, lying asleep.
Enter Titania and Bottom; Peaseblossom, Cobweb, Moth, Mustardseed, and other Fairies attending; Oberon behind unseen.

Tita. Come, sit thee down upon this flowery bed, While I thy amiable cheeks do coy, And stick musk-roses in thy sleek smooth head, And kiss thy fair large ears, my gentle joy.
Bot. Where's Peaseblossom?
Peas. Ready.
Bot. Scratch my head, Peaseblossom. Where's Mounsieur Cobweb?
Cob. Ready.
Bot. Mounsieur Cobweb, good mounsieur, get you io your weapons in your hand, and kill me a redhipped humble-bee on the top of a thistle; and, good mounsieur, bring me the honey-bag. Do not fret yourself too much in the action, mounsieur; and, good mounsieur, have a care the honey-bag break not; I would be loath to have you overflown with a honey-bag, signior. Where's Mounsieur Mustardseed?
Mus. Ready.
Bot. Give me your neaf, Mounsieur Mustardseed. 20
Pray you, leave your courtesy, good mounsieur.

Mus. What's your will?
Bot. Nothing, good mounsieur, but to help Cavalery Cobweb to scratch. I must to the barber's, mounsieur; for methinks I am marvellous hairy about the face; and I am such a tender ass, if my hair do but tickle me, I must scratch.
Tita. What, wilt thou hear some music, my sweet love?
Bot. I have a reasonable good ear in music. Let 's have the tongs and the bones.
Tita. Or say, sweet love, what thou desirest to eat.
Bot. Truly, a peck of provender: I could munch your good dry oats. Methinks I have a great desire to a bottle of hay: good hay, sweet hay, hath no fellow.
Tita. I have a venturous fairy that shall seek
The squirrel's hoard, and fetch thee new nuts. 40
Bot. I had rather have a handful or two of dried peas.
But, I pray you, let none of your people stir me: I have an exposition of sleep come upon me.
Tita. Sleep thou, and I will wind thee in my arms.
Fairies, be gone, and be all ways away.
[Exeunt Fairies.
So doth the woodbine the sweet honeysuckle
Gently entwist ; the female ivy so
Enrings the barky fingers of the elm.
O, how I love thee! how I dote on thee!
[They sleep.
Enter Puck.
Obe. [Advancing] Welcome, good Robin. See'st 50 thou this sweet sight?

Her dotage now I do begin to pity:
For, meeting her of late behind the wood, Seeking sweet favours for this hateful fool, I did upbraid her, and fall out with her; For she his hairy temples then had rounded With coronet of fresh and fragrant flowers; And that same dew, which sometime on the buds Was wont to swell, like round and orient pearls, Stood now within the pretty flowerets' eyes,
Like tears, that did their own disgrace bewail.
When I had at my pleasure taunted her, And she in mild terms begg'd my patience, I then did ask of her her changeling child;
Which straight she gave me, and her fairy sent
To bear him to my bower in fairy land.
And now I have the boy, I will undo
This hateful imperfection of her eyes:
And, gentle Puck, take this transformed scalp From off the head of this Athenian swain ;
That, he awaking when the other do, May all to Athens back again repair, And think no more of this night's accidents, But as the fierce vexation of a dream.
But first I will release the fairy queen.
Be as thou wast wont to be; See as thou wast wont to see: Dian's bud o'er Cupid's flower Hath such force and blessed power. Now, my Titania; wake you, my sweet queen.
Tita. My Oberon! what visions have I seen!
Methought I was enamour'd of an ass.
Obe. There lies your love.

Tita.
How came these things to pass?
O, how mine eyes do loathe his visage now!
Obe. Silence awhile. Robin, take off this head.
Titania, music call; and strike more dead
Than common sleep of all these five the sense.
Tita. Music, ho! music, such as charmeth sleep!
[Music, still.
Fuck. Now, when thou wakest, with thine own fool's eyes peep.
Obe. Sound music! Come, my queen, take hands with me,

90
And rock the ground whereon these sleepers be.
Now thou and I are new in amity, And will to-morrow midnight solemnly Dance in Duke Theseus' house triumphantly, And bless it to all fair prosperity : There shall the pairs of faithful lovers be Wedded, with Theseus, all in jollity.
Puck. Fairy king, attend, and mark: I do hear the morning lark.
Obe. Then, my queen, in silence sad, IOO Trip we after night's shade: We the globe can compass soon, Swifter than the wandering moon.
Tita. Come, my lord; and in our flight, Tell me how it came this night, That I sleeping here was found With these mortals on the ground. [Exeunt. [Horns winded within.

Enter Theseus, Hippolyta, Egeus, and train.
The. Go, one of you, find out the forester;

For now our observation is perform'd; And since we have the vaward of the day, 110 My love shall hear the music of my hounds.
Uncouple in the western valley ; let them go:
Dispatch, I say, and find the forester.
[Exit an Attend.
We will, fair queen, up to the mountain's top, And mark the musical confusion
Of hounds and echo in conjunction.
Hip. I was with Hercules and Cadmus once, When in a wood of Crete they bay'd the bear With hounds of Sparta: never did I hear Such gallant chiding; for, besides the groves, $\quad \mathbf{I 2 O}$ The skies, the fountains, every region near Seem'd all one mutual cry: I never heard So musical a discord, such sweet thunder.
The. My hounds are bred out of the Spartan kind, So flew'd, so sanded; and their heads are hung With ears that sweep away the morning dew ; Crook-knee'd, and dew-lapp'd like Thessalian bulls; Slow in pursuit, but match'd in mouth like bells, Each under each. A cry more tuneable
Was never holla'd to, nor cheer'd with horn, I30 In Crete, in Sparta, nor in Thessaly:
Judge when you hear. But, soft! what nymphs are these?
Ege. My lord, this is my daughter here asleep;
And this, Lysander ; this Demetrius is;
This Helena, old Nedar's Helena :
I wonder of their being here together.
The. No doubt they rose up early to observe
The rite of May ; and, hearing our intent,
Came here in grace of our solemnity.

## But speak, Egeus ; is not this the day 140 <br> That Hermia should give answer of her choice?

Ege. It is, my lord.
The. Go, bid the huntsmen wake them with their horns.

> [Horns and shout within. Lys., Dem., Hel., and Her., wake and start up.

Good morrow, friends. Saint Valentine is past:
Begin these wood-birds but to couple now?
Lys. Pardon, my lord.
The.
I pray you all, stand up.
I know you two are rival enemies:
How comes this gentle concord in the world,
That hatred is so far from jealousy, To sleep by hate, and fear no enmity?
Lys. My lord, I shall reply amazedly, Half sleep, half waking: but as yet, I swear, I cannot truly say how I came here; But, as I think,-for truly would I speak, And now I do bethink me, so it is,I came with Hermia hither: our intent Was to be gone from Athens, where we might, Without the peril of the Athenian law.
Ege. Enough, enough, my lord; you have enough:
I beg the law, the law, upon his head.
They would have stolen away ; they would, Demetrius, Thereby to have defeated you and me, You of your wife and me of my consent, Of my consent that she should be your wife.
Dem. My lord, fair Helen told me of their stealth, Of this their purpose hither to this wood; And I in fury hither follow'd them, Fair Helena in fancy following me.

## Act IV. Sc. i.

But, my good lord, I wot not by what power,-
But by some power it is,-my love to Hermia, $\quad 170$
Melted as the snow, seems to me now
As the remembrance of an idle gaud, Which in my childhood I did dote upon; And all the faith, the virtue of my heart, The object and the pleasure of mine eye, Is only Helena. To her, my lord, Was I betroth'd ere I saw Hermia:
But, like in sickness, did I loathe this food; But, as in health, come to my natural taste, Now I do wish it, love it, long for it,
And will for evermore be true to it.
The. Fair lovers, you are fortunately met:
Of this discourse we more will hear anon.
Egeus, I will overbear your will;
For in the temple, by and by, with us
These couples shall eternally be knit:
And, for the morning now is something worn,
Our purposed hunting shall be set aside.
Away with us to Athens! three and three, We 'll hold a feast in great solemnity. Come, Hippolyta.
[Exeurt The., Hip., Ege., and train.
Dem. These things seem small and undistinguishable,
Like far-off mountains turned into clouds.
Her. Methinks I see these things with parted eye, When every thing seems double.
Hel.
So methinks:
And I have found Demetrius like a jewel, Mine own, and not mine own.

## Dem.

Are you sure
That we are awake? It seems to meThat yet we sleep, we dream. Do not you thinkThe Duke was here, and bid us follow him?200
Her. Yea; and my father.Hel.And Hippolyta.Lys. And he did bid us follow to the temple.Dem. Why, then, we are awake: let's follow him;And by the way let us recount our dreams. [Exeunt.Bot. [Aveaking] When my cue comes, call me, and Iwill answer: my next is, 'Most fair Pyramus.'Heigh-ho! Peter Quince! Flute, the bellows-mender! Snout, the tinker! Starveling! God'smy life, stolen hence, and left me asleep! I havehad a most rare vision. I have had a dream, past 210the wit of man to say what dream it was: man isbut an ass, if he go about to expound this dream.Methought I was-there is no man can tell what.Methought I was,-and methought I had,-butman is but a patched fool, if he will offer to saywhat methought I had. The eye of man hathnot heard, the ear of man hath not seen, man'shand is not able to taste, his tongue to conceive,nor his heart to report, what my dream was. Iwill get Peter Quince to write a ballad of this 220dream: it shall be called Bottom's Dream, be-cause it hath no bottom; and I will sing it in thelatter end of a play, before the Duke: peradven-ture, to make it the more gracious, I shall singit at her death.

## Scene II.

'Athens. Quince's house.
'Enter Quince, Flute, Snout, and Starveling.
Quin. Have you sent to Bottom's house? is he come home yet?
Star. He cannot be heard of. Out of doubt he is transported.
Flu. If he come not, then the play is marred: it goes not forward, doth it?
Quin. It is not possible: you have not a man in all Athens able to discharge Pyramus but he.
Flu. No, he hath simply the best wit of any handicraft man in Athens.
Quin. Yea, and the best person too; and he is a very paramour for a sweet voice.
Flu. You must say 'paragon': a paramour is, God bless us, a thing of naught.

## Enter Snug.

Snug. Masters, the Duke is coming from the temple, and there is two or three lords and ladies more married: if our sport had gone forward, we had all been made men.
Flu. O sweet bully Bottom! Thus hath he lost sixpence a day during his life; he could not have scaped sixpence a day: an the Duke had not given him sixpence a day for playing Pyramus, I'll be hanged; he would have deserved it: sixpence a day in Pyramus, or nothing.

## Enter Bottom.

Bot. Where are these lads? where are these hearts?

Quin. Bottom! O most courageous day! O most happy hour!
Bot. Masters, I am to discourse wonders: but ask me not what; for if I tell you, I am no true Athenian. I will tell you every thing, right as 30 it fell out.
Quin. Let us hear, sweet Bottom.
Bot. Not a word of me. All that I will tell you is, that the Duke hath dined. Get your apparel together, good strings to your beards, new ribbons to your pumps; meet presently at the palace ; every man look o'er his part; for the short and the long is, our play is preferred. In any case, let Thisby have clean linen; and let not him that plays the lion pare his nails, for they shall hang out for the lion's claws. And, most dear actors, eat no onions nor garlic, for we are to utter sweet breath; and I do not doubt but to hear them say, it is a sweet comedy. No more words: away! go, away! [Exeunt.

## ACT FIFTH.

## Scene I.

'Athens. The palace of Theseus.
Enter Theseus, Hippolyta, Philostrate, Lords, and Attendants.

Hip. 'Tis strange, my Theseus, that these lovers speak of, The. More strange than true: I never may believe These antique fables, nor these fairy toys. Lovers and madmen have such seething brains,

Such shaping fantasies, that apprehend
More than cool reason ever comprehends.
The lunatic, the lover and the poet
Are of imagination all compact:
One sees more devils than vast hell can hold,
That is, the madman : the lover, all as frantic, Io
Sees Helen's beauty in a brow of Egypt:
The poet's eye, in a fine frenzy rolling,
Doth glance from heaven to earth, from earth to heaven ;
And as imagination bodies forth
The forms of things unknown, the poet's pen Turns them to shapes, and gives to airy nothing
A local habitation and a name.
Such tricks hath strong imagination,
That, if it would but apprehend some joy,
It comprehends some bringer of that joy;
Or in the night, imagining some fear, How easy is a bush supposed a bear!
Hip. But all the story of the night told over, And all their minds transfigured so together, More witnesseth than fancy's images, And grows to something of great constancy ; But, howsoever, strange and admirable.
The. Here come the lovers, full of joy and mirth.
Enter Lysander, Demetrius, Hermia, and Helena.
Joy, gentle friends ! joy and fresh days of love Accompany your hearts!

Wait in your royal walks, your board, your bed!
The. Come now; what masques, what dances shall we have,

To wear away this long age of three hours Between our after-supper and bed-time? Where is our usual manager of mirth?
What revels are in hand? Is there no play,
To ease the anguish of a torturing hour?
Call Philostrate.
Phil.
Here, mighty Theseus.
The. Say, what abridgement have you for this evening?
What masque? what music? How shall we beguile
The lazy time, if not with some delight? 4I
Phil. There is a brief how many sports are ripe:
Make choice of which your highness will see first.
[Giving a paper.
The. [Reads] The battle with the Centaurs, to be sung
By an Athenian eunuch to the harp.
We 'll none of that: that have I told my love,
In glory of my kinsman Hercules.
[Reads] The riot of the tipsy Bacchanals,
Tearing the Thracian singer in their rage.
That is an old device; and it was play'd
When I from Thebes came last a conqueror.
[Reads] The thrice three Muses mourning for the death
Of Learning, late deceased in beggary.
That is some satire, keen and critical,
Not sorting with a nuptial ceremony.
[Reads] A tedious brief scene of young Pyramus
And his love Thisbe; very tragical mirth.
Merry and tragical! tedious and brief!
That is, hot ice and wondrous strange snow.
How shall we find the concord of this discord?
Phil. A play there is, my lord, some ten words long,

Which is as brief as I have known a play;
But by ten words, my lord, it is too long,
Which makes it tedious; for in all the play
There is not one word apt, one player fitted:
And tragical, my noble lord, it is ;
For Pyramus therein doth kill himself,
Which, when I saw rehearsed, I must confess,
Made mine eyes water; but more merry tears
The passion of loud laughter never shed.
The. What are they that do play it?
Phil. Hard-handed men, that work in Athens here,
Which never labour'd in their minds till now ;
And now have toil'd their unbreathed memories
With this same play, against your nuptial.
The. And we will hear it.
Phil. No, my noble lord;
It is not for you: I have heard it over, And it is nothing, nothing in the world; Unless you can find sport in their intents, Extremely stretch'd and conn'd with cruel pain, 8o To do you service.
The. I will hear that play;
For never anything can be amiss,
When simpleness and duty tender it.
Go, bring them in : and take your places, ladies. [Exit Philostrate.
Hip. I love not to see wretchedness o'ercharged, And duty in his service perishing.
The. Why, gentle sweet, you shall see no such thing.
Hip. He says they can do nothing in this kind.
The. The kinder we, to give them thanks for nothing.
Our sport shall be to take what they mistake:

And what poor duty cannot do, noble respect Takes it in might, not merit.
Where I have come, great clerks have purposed
To greet me with premeditated welcomes;
Where I have seen them shiver and look pale,
Make periods in the midst of sentences,
Throttle their practised accent in their fears, And, in conclusion, dumbly have broke off,
Not paying me a welcome. Trust me, sweet,
Out of this silence yet I picked a welcome;
And in the modesty of fearful duty
I read as much as from the rattling tongue
Of saucy and audacious eloquence.
Love, therefore, and tongue-tied simplicity
In least speak most, to my capacity.
Re-enter Philostrate.
Phil. So please your Grace, the Prologue is address'd.
The. Let him approach.
[Flourish of trumpets.

## Enter Quince for the Prologue.

Pro. If we offend, it is with our good will.
That you should think, we come not to offend, But with good will. To show our simple skill, IIO

That is the true beginning of our end.
Consider, then, we come but in despite.
We do not come, as minding to content you,
Our true intent is. All for your delight,
We are not here. That you should here repent you,
The actors are at hand ; and, by their show, You shall know all, that you are like to know.

The. This fellow doth not stand upon points.
Lys. He hath rid his prologue like a rough colt; he knows not the stop. A good moral, my lord: 120 it is not enough to speak, but to speak true.
Hip. Indeed he hath played on his prologue like a child on a recorder ; a sound, but not in government.
The. His speech was like a tangled chain ; nothing impaired, but all disordered. Who is next?

Enter Pyramus and Thisbe, Wall, Moonshine, and Lion.
Pro. Gentles, perchance you wonder at this show; But wonder on, till truth make all things plain. This man is Pyramus, if you would know ; This beauteous lady Thisby is certain.
This man, with lime and rough-cast, doth present
Wall, that vile Wall which did these lovers sunder; And through Wall's chink, poor souls, they are content
To whisper. At the which let no man wonder.
This man, with lanthorn, dog, and bush of thorn, Presenteth Moonshine; for, if you will know, By moonshine did these lovers think no scorn To meet at Ninus' tomb, there to woo.
This grisly beast, which Lion hight by name, The trusty Thisby, coming first by night,
Did scare away, or rather did affright; And, as she fled, her mantle she did fall,

Which Lion vile with bloody mouth did stain.
Anon comes Pyramus, sweet youth and tall,
And finds his trusty Thisby's mantle slain:
Whereat, with blade, with bloody blameful blade, He bravely broach'd his boiling bloody breast;

> And Thisby, tarrying in mulberry shade, His dagger drew, and died. For all the rest, Let Lion, Moonshine, Wall, and lovers twain I50 At large discourse, while here they do remain. [Exeunt Prologue, Pyramus, Thisbe, Lion, and Moonshine.

The. I wonder if the lion be to speak.
Dem. No wonder, my lord: one lion may, when many asses do.
Wall. In this same interlude it doth befall
That I, one Snout by name, present a wall; And such a wall, as I would have you think, That had in it a crannied hole or chink, Through which the lovers, Pyramus and Thisby, Did whisper often very secretly.
This loam, this rough-cast, and this stone, doth show
That I am that same wall; the truth is so:
And this the cranny is, right and sinister,
Through which the fearful lovers are to whisper.
The. Would you desire lime and hair to speak better?
Dem. It is the wittiest partition that ever I heard discourse, my lord.
The. Pyramus draws near the wall: silence!

## Re-enter Pyramus.

> Pyr. O grim-look'd night! O night with hue so black! O night, which ever art when day is not! 170
> O night, O night! alack, alack, alack, I fear my Thisby's promise is forgot! And thou, O wall, O sweet, O lovely wall,

> That stand'st between her father's ground and mine!

## Act V. Sc. i.

Thou wall, O wall, O sweet and lovely wall, Show me thy chink, to blink through with mine eyne! [Wall holds up his fingers.
Thanks, courteous wall: Jove shield thee well for this!
But what see I? No Thisby do I see.
O wicked wall, through whom I see no bliss! Cursed be thy stones for thus deceiving me!

180
The. The wall, methinks, being sensible, should curse again.
Pyr. No, in truth, sir, he should not. 'Deceiving me' is Thisby's cue: she is to enter now, and I am to spy her through the wall. You shall see, it will fall pat as I told you. Yonder she comes.

Re-enter Thisbe.
This. O wall, full often hast thou heard my moans, For parting my fair Pyramus and me!
My cherry lips have often kiss'd thy stones, 190 Thy stones with lime and hair knit up in thee.
Pyr. I see a voice: now will I to the chink,
To spy an I can hear my Thisby's face.
Thisby!
This. My love thou art, my love I think.
Pyr. Think what thou wilt, I am thy lover's grace; And, like Limander, am I trusty still.
This. And I like Helen, till the Fates me kill. Pyr. Not Shafalus to Procrus was so true.
This. As Shafalus to Procrus, I to you. 200
Pyr. O, kiss me through the hole of this vile wall!
This. I kiss the wall's hole, not your lips at all.
Pyr. Wilt thou at Ninny's tomb meet me straightway?

This. 'Tide life, 'tide death, I come without delay.
[Exeunt Pyramus and Thisbe.
Wall. Thus have I, wall, my part discharged so;
And, being done, thus wall away doth go.
The. Now is the mural down between the two neighbours.
Dem. No remedy, my lord, when walls are so wilful to hear without warning.
Hip. This is the silliest stuff that ever I heard.
The. The best in this kind are but shadows; and the worst are no worse, if imagination amend them.
Hip. It must be your imagination then, and not theirs.
The. If we imagine no worse of them than they of themselves, they may pass for excellent men. Here come two noble beasts in, a man and a lion.

Re-enter Lion and Moonshine.
Lion. You, ladies, you, whose gentle hearts do fear
The smallest monstrous mouse that creeps on floor, May now perchance both quake and tremble here, 221

When lion rough in wildest rage doth roar.
Then know that I, one Snug the joiner, n'am
A lion-fell, nor else no lion's dam; For, if I should as lion come in strife Into this place, 'twere pity on my life.
The. A very gentle beast, and of a good conscience.
Dem. The very best at a beast, my lord, that e'er I saw.
Lys. This lion is a very fox for his valour.
The. True; and a goose for his discretion.
Dem. Not so, my lord; for his valour cannot carry his discretion; and the fox carries the goose.

The. His discretion, I am sure, cannot carry his valour; for the goose carries not the fox. It is well: leave it to his discretion, and let us listen to the moon.
Moon. This lanthorn doth the horned moon present;
Dem. He should have worn the horns on his head.
The. He is no crescent, and his horns are invisible 240 within the circumference.
Moon. This lanthorn doth the horned moon present; Myself the man i' the moon do seem to be.
The. This is the greatest error of all the rest: the man should be put into the lantern. How is it else the man i' the moon?
Dem. He dares not come there for the candle; for, you see, it is already in snuff.
Hip. I am aweary of this moon: would he would change!
The. It appears, by his small light of discretion, that he is in the wane; but yet, in courtesy, in all reason, we must stay the time.
Lys. Proceed, Moon.
Moon. All that I have to say, is, to tell you that the lanthorn is the moon; I, the man i' the moon; this thorn-bush, my thorn-bush; and this dog, my dog.
Dem. Why, all these should be in the lantern; for all these are in the moon. But, silence! here comes 260 Thisbe.

> Re-enter Thisbe.

This. This is old Ninny's tomb. Where is my love?
Lion. [Roaring] Oh-
[Thisbe runs off.

Dem. Well roared, Lion.
Thc. Well run, Thisbe.
Hip. Well shone, Moon. Truly, the moon shines with a good grace.
[The Lion shakes Thisbe's mantle, and exit.
The. Well moused, Lion.
Dem. And then came Pyramus.
L.ys. And so the lion vanished.

Re-enter Pyramus.
Pyr. Sweet Moon, I thank thee for thy sunny beams; I thank thee, Moon, for shining now so bright; For, by thy gracious, golden, glittering gleams, I trust to take of truest Thisby sight.

But stay, O spite!
But mark, poor knight,
What dreadful dole is here!
Eyes, do you see?
How can it be?
O dainty duck! O dear!
Thy mantle good, What, stain'd with blood! Approach, ye Furies fell!

O Fates, come, come, Cut thread and thrum; Quail, crush, conclude, and quell!
The. This passion, and the death of a dear friend, would go near to make a man look sad.
Hip. Beshrew my heart, but I pity the man.
Pyr. O wherefore, Nature, didst thou lions frame? 290
Since lion vile hath here deflower'd my dear :

Which is-no, no-which was the fairest dame
That lived, that loved, that liked, that look'd with cheer.

Come, tears, confound ;
Out, sword, and wound The pap of Pyramus;

Ay, that left pap,
Where heart doth hop: [Stabs himself. Thus die I, thus, thus, thus.

Now am I dead,
Now am I fled;
My soul is in the sky:
Tongue, lose thy light;
Moon, take thy flight: [Exit Moonshine. Now die, die, die, die, die.
Dem. No die, but an ace, for him; for he is but one.
Lys. Less than an ace, man; for he is dead; he is nothing.
The. With the help of a surgeon he might yet recover, and prove an ass.
Hip. How chance Moonshine is gone before Thisbe comes back and finds her lover?
The. She will find him by starlight. Here she comes; and her passion ends the play.

## Re-enter Thisbe.

Hip. Methinks she should not use a long one for such a Pyramus: I hope she will be brief.
Dem. A mote will turn the balance, which Pyramus, which Thisbe, is the better; he for a man, God warrant us; she for a woman, God bless us.
Lys. She hath spied him already with those sweet eyes.
Dem. And thus she means, videlicet:-

This.

Asleep, my love?
What, dead, my dove?
O Pyramus, arise!
Speak, speak. Quite dumb?
Dead, dead? A tomb
Must cover thy sweet eyes.
These lily lips,
This cherry nose,
These yellow cowslip cheeks,
330
Are gone, are gone:
Lovers, make moan:
His eyes were green as leeks.
O Sisters Three,
Come, come to me,
With hands as pale as milk:
Lay them in gore,
Since you have shore
With shears his thread of silk.
Tongue, not a word:
Come, trusty sword;
Come, blade, my breast imbrue : [Stabs herself.
And, farewell, friends;
Thus Thisby ends:
Adieu, adieu, adieu.
[Dies.
The. Moonshine and Lion are left to bury the dead.
Dem. Ay, and Wall too.
Bot. [Starting up] No, I assure you; the wall is down that parted their fathers. Will it please you to see the epilogue, or to hear a Bergomask $35^{\circ}$ dance between two of our company?
The. No epilogue, I pray you; for your play needs no excuse. Never excuse; for when the players
are all dead, there need none to be blamed. Marry, if he that writ it had played Pyramus and hanged himself in Thisbe's garter, it would have been a fine tragedy: and so it is, truly; and very notably discharged. But, come, your Bergomask: let your epilogue alone. [ $A$ dance. The iron tongue of midnight hath told twelve: 360 Lovers, to bed; 'tis almost fairy time. I fear we shall out-sleep the coming morn, As much as we this night have overwatch'd. This palpable-gross play hath well beguiled The heavy gait of night. Sweet friends, to bed.
A fortnight hold we this solemnity, In nightly revels and new jollity.
[Exeunt.

Enter Puck.

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { Puck. Now the hungry lion roars, } \\
& \text { And the wolf behowls the moon; } \\
& \text { Whilst the heavy ploughman snores, } \\
& \text { All with weary task fordone. }
\end{aligned}
$$ Now the wasted brands do glow, Whilst the screech-owl, screeching loud, Puts the wretch that lies in woe In remembrance of a shroud.

Now it is the time of night, That the graves, all gaping wide, Every one lets forth his sprite, In the church-way paths to glide: And we fairies, that do run

By the triple Hecate's team,
From the presence of the sun, Following darkness like a dream,

Now are frolic: not a mouse
Shall disturb this hallow'd house:
I am sent with broom before,
To sweep the dust behind the door.
Enter Oberon and Titania with their train.
Obe. Through the house give glimmering light, By the dead and drowsy fire:
Every elf and fairy sprite
Hop as light as bird from brier;
And this ditty, after me, Sing, and dance it trippingly.
Tita. First, rehearse your song by rote, To each word a warbling note:
Hand in hand, with fairy grace,
Will we sing, and bless this place.
[Song and dance.
Obe. Now, until the break of day,
Through this house each fairy stray.
To the best bride-bed will we,
Which by us shall blessed be:
And the issue there create
Ever shall be fortunate.
So shall all the couples three
Ever true in loving be;
And the blots of Nature's hand
Shall not in their issue stand;
Never mole, hare lip, nor scar,
Nor mark prodigious, such as are Despised in nativity,

410
Shall upon their children be.
With this field-dew consecrate, Every fairy take his gait;

And each several chamber bless, Through this palace, with sweet peace, Ever shall in safety rest, And the owner of it blest. Trip away; make no stay; Meet me all by break of day.
[E.xeunt Oberon, Titania, and train. Puck. If we shadows have offended, 420 Think but this, and all is mended, That you have but slumber'd here, While these visions did appear. And this weak and idle theme, No more yielding but a dream, Gentles, do not reprehend: If you pardon, we will mend. And, as I am an honest Puck, If we have unearned luck Now to scape the serpent's tongue, 430 We will make amends ere long;
Else the Puck a liar call:
So, good night unto you all. Give me your hands, if we be friends, And Robin shall restore amends. [Exit.

## Glossary.

Abridgement, an entertainment to while away the time; V. i. 39.
$A b y$, pay for ; III. ii. 175.
Adamant, loadstone; II. i. 195.


From the early black-letter edition of the Greate Herball.

Address'd, ready; V. i. ıo6.
Admirable, to be wondered at; V. i. 27.

Advised; 'be advised' ="consider what you are doing"; I. i. 46 .

Against, in preparation for; V.
i. 75 .

Aggravate; Bottom's blunder
for " decrease"; I. ii. 81.
All, fully ; II. i. 157.
$A n$, if ; I. ii. 50.
$A n$ if, if; II. ii. I53.

Antique, strange ; V. i. 3.
Approve, prove; II. ii. 68.
Apricocks, apricots; III. i. 169.
Argument, subject of story; III. ii. 242.

Artificial, skilled in art; III. ii. 203.

As, that as; I. i. 42.
Ask, require; I. ii. 24.
Aunt, old dame; II. i. 5 I.
Austerity, strictness of life; I. i. 90 .

Barm, froth, yeast; II. i. 38 .
Barren, empty headed; III. ii. I3.
Bated, excepted; I. i. 190.
Beard, the prickles on the ears of corn; IL. i. 95.
Belike, very likely; I. i. I 30 . Bellows-mender, mender of the bellows of organs; I. ii. 4 I.
Bergomask dance, a rude clownish dance such as the people of the town Bergamo or of the province Bergamasco were wont to practise. "Bergano, a town in the Venetian territory, capital of the old province Bergamasco, whose inhabitants used to be ridiculed as clownish"; V. i. 351,360 .

Beteem, accord, permit; I. i, 13I.
Bill, list; I. ii. 105.

Blood, passion; I. i. 68; I. i. 74; birth, social rank; I. i. 135.

Bolt, arrow ; II. i. 165.
Bootless, in vain, uselessly; II. i. 37.

Bosom, heart ; I. i. 27.
Bottle, bundle, truss ; IV. i. 37.
Bouncing, imperious; II. i. 70.
Brave touch, noble action; III. ii. 70.

Breath, voice, notes; II. i. 151.
Brief, short statement ; V. i. 42.
Brisky, brisk; III. i. 97.
Broach'd, stabbed, spitted; V. i. 147.

Bully, comrade; III. i. 8.
Buskin'd, wearing the buskin, a boot with high heels, worn by hunters and huntresses; II. i. 7 I .

Canker-blossom, the worm that eats into blossoms; III. ii. 282.

Cankers, worms; II. ii. 3.
Capacity; 'to my c.,' i.e. "so far as I am able to understand"; V. i. ios.
Cavalery, cavalero, cavalier; IV. i. 24.

Centaurs; 'battle with the c.,' an allusion to the attack made on Hercules by the Centaurs when he was in pursuit of the Erymanthian boar; the battle referred to is not their famous contest with the Lapithæ; V. i. 44.
Chance; "how c.," i.e. "how chances it "; I. i. 129.

Changeling, a child substituted by the fairies for the one stolen by them; II. i. 23.
Cheek by jole, i.e. cheek to cheek, side by side; III. ii. 338.

Cheer, countenance ; III. ii. 96; V. i. 293.

Chiding, barking; IV. i. 120.
Childing, productive, fertile; II. i. II2.

Church-way, leading to the church; V. i. 380.
Churl, boor, peasant ; II. ii. 78 .
Clerk, scholars; V. i. 93.
Coil, confusion, ado; III. ii. 339.

Collied, dark, black; I. i. 145.
Compact, composed, formed; V. i. 8.

Compare with, try to rival; II. ii. 99.

Con, learn by heart ; I. ii. 99.
Concern, accord with, befit; I. i. 60 .

Condole, probably one of Bottom's blunders, unless perhaps used in the sense of lament; I. ii. 26.
Confusion, ruin; I. i. I49.
Consecrate, consecrated; V. i. 413.

Constancy, consistency; V. i. 26.

Contagious, pestilential; II. i. go.
Continents, banks; II. i. 92.
Courageous, happy, fortunate; IV. ii. 26.

Coy, fondle; IV. i. 2.
Crazed title, a title with a flaw in it ; I. i. 92.

Create, created; V. i. 403.
Critical, censorious; V. i. 54.
Cry, pack of hounds; IV. i. 129.

Cupid's flower, the pansy, " love-in-idleness"; IV. i. 78.
Curst, shrewish; III. ii. 300.
Cut thread and thrum $=\mathrm{cut}$ everything, good and bad (vide Thread and Thrum); V. i. 285.

Dances and delight $=$ delight ful dances; II. i. 254.
Darkling, in the dark; II. ii. 86.

Dead, deadly, death-like; III. ii. 57 .

Dear expense, a privilege dearly bought; I. i. 249.
Debate, contention; II. i. ェi6.
Defeated, cheated; IV. i. 162.
Defect, Bottom's blunder for "effect"; III. i. 40.
Derived; 'as well derived'= as well-born; I. i. 99.
Devices, plans, projects; I. ii. 104; performance; V. i. 50.
Dewberries, the fruit of the dewberry bush; III. i. 170.
Dewlap, the loose skin hanging from the throat of cattle; here used for "neck"; II. i. 50; 'dewlapp'd'; IV. i. I27.
Dian's bud, probably the bud of the Agnus Castus or Chastetree; "the vertue of this herbe is that he wyll kepe man and woman chaste"; IV. i. 78.

Discharge, perform; I. ii. 95; IV. ii. 8.

Disfigure, to obliterate ; I. i. 51.
Disfigure, Quince's blunder for "figure"'; III. i. 61.
Distemperature, disorder of the elements; II. i. гоб.
Dole, grief; V. i. 277.
Done; "when all is done," $=$ when all is said and done; III. i. I6.

Dowager, a widow with a jointure ; I. i. 5.
Drawn, with drawn sword; III. ii. 402.

Earthlier happy, happier as regards this world; I. i. 76.
Eat, ate ; II. ii. I49.
Eglantine, sweetbriar; II. i. 252.

Egypt; 'brow of E.'=the brow of a gypsy (i.e. an Egyptian) ; V. i. II.
Eight and six, alternate verses of four and three feet; the common ballad metre of the time; III. i. 25.
Embarked traders, traders embarked upon the sea; II. i. 127.

Enforced, forced, violated; III. i. 205.

Enough; 'you have enough,' i.e. you have heard enough to convict him; IV. i. I59.
Ercles $=$ Hercules, whose twelve labours had often formed the subject of dramatic shows, the hero resembling Herod in his ranting; I. ii. 28.

Erewhile, a little while ago; III. ii. 274.

## Glossary

## A MIDSUMMER

Estate unto, bestow upon; I. i. 98.

Ever, always; I. i. 150.
Exposition; Bottom's blunder for "disposition" ; IV. i. 43 .
Extenuate, mitigate, relax ; I. i. I20.

Faint, pale; I. i. 215.
Fair, fairness, beauty; I. i. 182.
Fair, kindly ; II. i. 199.
Fall, let fall, drop; V. i. I42.
Fancy, love; I. i. I55; IV. i. I68.
Fancy-free, free from the power of love; II. i. 164.
Fancy-sick, sick for love; III. ii. 96.

Favour, features; I. i. I86.
Favours, love-tokens; II. i. 12; nosegays of flowers; IV. i. 53.

Fell; 'passing fell,' extremely angry; II. i. 20.
Fellow, match, equal ; IV. i. 38.
Figure, typify ; I. i. 237.
Fire, will of the wisp; III. i. II2.
Flew'd, having an overhanging lip on the upper jaw; IV. i. 125.

Floods, waters; II. i. 103.
Flout, mock at; II. ii. 128 .
Fond, foolish; II. ii. 88.
For the candle, because of the c. ; V. i. 247.

Force; 'of force'=perforce; III. ii. 40.

Fordone, exhausted; V. i. 372.
Forgeries, idle inventions; II. i. 8 I .

Forth, out of, from; I. i. 164.

For that, because; II. i. 220.
Forty, used as an indefinite number; II. i. 176.
French crown color, light yellow, the color of the gold of the French crown ; I. ii. 94.

Gallant $=$ "gallantly" (which the Folios read) ; I. ii. 23.
Gawds, trifles, trinkets; I. i. 33.
Generally; Bottom's blunder for "severally" ; I. ii. 2.
Glance at, hint at ; II. i. 75.
Gleek, jest, scoff; III. i. I5I.
Go about, attempt; IV. i. 2II.
Gossip's bowl, originally a christening cup; thence applied to a drink usually prepared for christening feasts; its ingredients were ale, spice, sugar, and roasted crabs (i.e. crab-apples; II. i. 47.

Government, control ; 'in government' $=$ under control; V. i. 123.

Grace, favour granted; II. ii. 89.

Grim-look'd, grim-looking; V. i. 169 .

Grow to a point, come to the point ; I. ii. Io.

Hands; 'give me your hands,' applaud by clapping; V. i. 435.

Head; 'to his head' $=$ to his face; I. i. 106.
Hearts, good fellows; IV. ii. 25.

Helen, a blunder for "Hero"; V. i. 198.

Hempen home-spuns, coarse fellows (rude mechanicals); III. i. 79.

Henchman, page, attendant; II. i. 12 I .


From an engraving (temp. Charles I.) in the Bagtord collection.
Hight, is called; V. i. I39.
Homed moon, used perhaps quibblingly with reference to the material of Moonshine's lanthorn; V. i. 242.
Human, humane, courteous; II. ii. 57.

Human mortals, men, as distinguished from fairies, who were considered mortal, though not human: II. i. Ior.

Imbrue, stain with blood; V. i. 343.

Immeaiately, purposely; I. i. 45.

Impeach, bring into question; II. i. 214.
$I_{n}=\mathrm{on} ; \mathrm{II}$. i. 85 .
Incorporate, made one body; III. ii. 208.

Injurious, insulting ; III. ii. 195. Intend, pretend; III. ii. 333.
Interchained, bound together; II. ii. 49 .

Juvenal, juvenile, youth; III. i. 97.

Kind; ' in this kind,' in this respect; I. i. 54 .
Knacks $=$ knick-knacks; I. i. 34.

Knot-grass; 'hindering k.' was formerly believed to have the power of checking the growth of children; III. ii. 329.

Lakin; 'by 'r lakin,' i.e. by our ladykin, or little lady, i.e. the Virgin Mary; III. i. I4.
Latch'd, moistened, anointed; III. ii. 36 .

Leave, give up ; II. i. 197.
Leviathan, whale; II. i. 174.
Limander, a blunder for "Leander "; V. i. 197.
Lion-fell, lion's skin (but cp. Note) ; V. i. 224.
Lob, buffoon, clown ; II. i. I6.
Lode-star, the leading star, the polar star; I. i. 183.
Lordship; 'unto his lordship, whose,' etc. = unto the govcrnment of him, to whose, etc.; I. i. 81.
Lose, forget; I. i. II4.
Love-in-idleness, the heartsease, or pansy, called "Cupid's flower"; II. i. I68.
Loves; ' of all loves,' for love's sake; II. ii. I54.

## Glossary

Luscious, delicious, sweet; II. i. 25 I .

Make mouths upon ="make faces at, mock at"; III. ii. 238.

May, can; V. i. 2.
Mazed, perplexed; II. i. II3.
Mazes, " figures marked out on village greens for rustic sports, such as the game called running the figure of eight'" ; II. i. 99.
Means, moans; V. i. 322.
Mechanicals, working-men; III. ii. 9.

Mimic, actor ; III. ii. Ig.
Minding, intending; V. i. II3.
Minimus, tiny creature ; III. ii. 329.

Misgraffed, grafted on a wrong tree; I. i. I37.
Misprised, mistaken; III. ii. 74.
Misprision, mistake ; III. ii. 90.
Momentany, momentary, lasting a moment; I. i. I43.
Morning's love, i.e. Cephalus; III. ii. 389.

Moused, torn in pieces, as a cat worries a mouse; V. i. 268.
Mouth, sound; IV. i. I28.
Murrion = infected with murrain, a disease among cattle; II. i. 97.

Musk-rose, described in Gerarde's Herbal, as " a flower of a white colour," with "certaine yellow seedes in the middle . . . of most writers reckoned among the wilde Roses"; II. i. 252.

Naught; "a thing of naught," a worthless thing; IV. ii. I4. Neaf, fist ; IV. i. 20.
Nearly that concerns $=$ that nearly c.; I. i. 126.
Neeze $=$ sneeze; II. i. 56.
Next, nearest, first; III. ii. 2.
Night-rule. night revel ; III. ii. 5.

Nine men's morris, " a plat of green turf cut into a sort of chess board, for the rustic youth to exercise their skill upon. The game was called 'nine men's morris' (or ' merrils,' i.e. 'counters' or 'pawns') because the players had each nine men which they moved along the lines cut in the ground-a diagram of three squares, one within the other-until one side had taken or penned up all those on the other '"; II. i. 98 .


From an engraving by F. W. Fairholt.
Ninus, the supposed founder of Nineveh, the husband of Semiramis, Queen of Babylon; V. i. I38.

Nole, noddle, head; III. ii. I7. None; 'I will none,' i.e. " nothing to do with her, none of her "' III. ii. 169.

Obscencly; Bottom's blunder for (?) seemly; I. ii. io8.
Obscrvance; 'to do o. to a morn of May,' i.e. "to observe the rights of Mayday '" I. i. 167.
Observation $=$ observance of May-day; IV. i. ıog.
Of, by ; II. ii. I34; for, III. i. 44.

On; "fond on," i.c. "doting on "; II. i. 266.
$O n=$ of; V. i. 227.
Orange-tawny, dark yellow; I. ii. 93.

Orbs, rings of rich green grass thought to be caused by the fairies; II. i. 9.
Original $=$ originators; II. i. II7.
Other, others; IV. i. 7I.
Ounce, a kind of lynx; II. ii. 30.
Ousel, blackbird; III. i. i28.
Overbear, overrule; IV. i. i84.
Owe, own ; II. ii. 79.
Oxlips, a kind of cowslip not often found wild; II. i. 250.

Pageant, show, exhibition; III. ii. II4.

Palpable-gross, palpably gross; V. i. 365.

Pard $=$ leopard ; II. ii. 3I.
Parlous $=$ perilous; III. i. I4.
Parts, qualities; III. ii. I53.
Pat, pat, exactly, just as it should be; III. i. 2.

Patched, wearing a coat of various colours; "patched fool," i.e. "a motley fool"; IV. i. 214.

Patches, clowns; III. ii. 9.
Patcut; "virgin patent," privilege of virginity; I. i. 80.
Pelting, paltry; II. i. 9I.
Pensioners, retainers; II. i. го. Periods, full stops; V. i. 96.
Pcrt, lively; I. i. I3.
Phibbus = Phœbus; I. ii. 34.
Pilgrimage; 'maiden pilgrimage,' a passing through life unwedded; I. i. 75.
Plain-song, used as an epithet of the cuckoo, with reference to its simple, monotonous note; a "plain-song" is a melody without any variations; III. i. I35.
Points; 'stand upon points,' used quibblingly, (I) " mind his stops," and (2) "be overscrupulous"; V. i. in8.
Possess'd; 'as well possess'd,' possessed of as much wealth; I. i. Ioo.

Preferred, submitted for approval; IV. ii. 38.
Prcposterously, perversely ; III. ii. I2I.

Presently=immediately; IV. ii. 36.

Prevailment, weight, sway; I. i. 35 .

Prey, the act of preying; II. ii. I50.
Princess, paragon, perfection; III. ii. 144.

Privilege, safeguard, protection; II. i. 220.

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Procrus, a blunder for "Procris," the wife of Cephalus; V. i. 199, 200.

Prodigious, unnatural; V. i. 409.

Prologue, speaker of the prologue ; V. i. гоб.
Proper, fine, handsome; I. ii. 85.

Properties; a theatrical term for all the adjuncts of a play, except the scenery and the dresses of the actors; I. ii. Io8.
Protest, vow ; I. i. 89.
Pumps, low shoes; IV. ii. 36. Purple-in-grain, dyed deep red; I. ii. 93 .

Quail, quell, overpower; V. i. 286.

Quell, kill; V. i. 286.
Quern, a mill for grinding corn by hand; II. i. 36.
Questions, arguings; II. i. 235 .
Recorder, a kind of flageolet; V. i. 123.

Rent, rend; III. ii. 215.
Rere-mice, bats; II. ii. 4.
Respect; 'in my r.,' i.e. "in my estimation"; II. i. 224 .
Respects, regards; I. i. 160.
Right maid, true maid; III. ii. 302.

Ringlets, the circles on the greensward, supposed to be made by the fairies ( $c p$. Orbs) ; II. i. 86.
Ripe, grow ripe; II. i. II8.
Ripe, ready for presentation; , V. i. 42.

Round; 'dance in our r.,' a dance in a circle; II. i. I40.


From a woodcut in the Roxburghe collection of ballads.

Roundel, dance in a circle; II. ii. I.

Run through fire; a proverbial expression signifying "to do impossibilities "; II. ii. гоз.

Sad, serious; IV. i. Ioo.
Sanded, sandy coloured; IV. i. 125.

Savours, scents, fragrance; II. i. I3.

Schooling, instructions; I. i. II6.
Scrip, "scroll," i.e. list of actors; I. ii. 3.
Seal, pledge ; III. ii. 144.
Seething, heated, excited; V. i. 4.

Self-affairs, my own business; I. i. II 3.

Sensible, capable of feeling; V. i. I8r.

Serpent's tongue, i.e. hissing, as a sig11 of disapproval; V. i. 430.

Shafalus, a blunder for "Cephalus." who remained true to his wife Procris notwithstanding Aurora's love for him; V. i. 199, 200.
Sheen, brightness; II. i. 29.
Shore $=$ shorn ; V. i. 338.
Shrewd, mischievous; II. i. 33.
Simpleness, simplicity; V. i. 83.

Sinister, left; V. i. 163.
Sisters Three, i.e. the Fates; V. i. 334.

Sleep, sleeping; IV. i. 152.
Small, in a treble voice like a boy or a woman; I. ii. 49.
Snuff, used equivocally; 'to be in smuff' $=$ " to be offended"; V. i. 248.
So, in the same manner; IV. i. 125.

Solemnities, nuptial festivities; I. i. II.

Solemnly, with due ceremony; IV. i. 93.

Sooth, truth ; II. ii. I29.
Sort, company, crew ; III. ii. I3.
Sorting; 'not s. with,' not befitting; V. i. 55.
Sphery, star-like; II. ii. 99.
Spleen, sudden passion; I. .. 146.

Split; ' to make all split,' a proverbial expression used to denote violent action; originally used by sailors; I. ii. 29.

Spotted, polluted; I. i. ino.
Spring; 'middle summer's spring,' the beginning of midsummer ; II. i. 82.
Square, wrangle, squabble; II. i. 30 .

Stay $=$ to stay; II. i. 138 .
Stealth, stealing away; III. ii. 310.

Steppe (so Quarto I), probably an error for "steep" (the reading of the Folios and Quarto 2) ; hence Milton's "Indian steep" (Comus, 139) ; it is doubtful whether Shakespeare was acquainted with this Russian term; II. i. 69 .

Still, always, ever; I. i. 212.
Stood upon, depended upon; I. i. 139 .

Streak, touch softly ; II. i. 257.
Stretch'd, strained; 'extremely s.,' i.e. "strained to the utmost'"; V. i. 80.
Strings, to tie on false beards with; IV. ii. 35 .
Superpraise, overpraise; III. ii. 153.

Tartar's bow; the Tartars or Parthians were famous for their skill in archery; in the old maps Tartary included the ancient Parthia; III. ii. IOI.
Tear; ' to tear a cat in,' a proverbial phrase $=$ to rant violently; I. ii. 29.
Thick-skin, dolt; III. ii. I3.

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Thracian singer, i.e. Orpheus; "His grief for the loss of Eurydice led him to treat with contempt the Thracian women, who in revenge tore him to pieces under the excitement of their Bacchanalian orgies "; V. i. 49.
Thread, the warp; V. i. 29 I.
Throwes; throws off, sheds; II. i. 255 .

Thrum, the loose end of a weaver's warp; V. i. 285.
'Tide, betide; V. i. 204.
Tiring-house, dressing-room; III. i. 4.

Toward, in progress; III. i. 81.
Toys, trifles; 'fairy toys,' fanciful tales; V. i. 3.
Trace, traverse; II. i. 25.
Translated, transformed; I. i. 191; III. i. 122.
Transported, removed, carried off; IV. ii. 4.
Triple Hecate, i.e. ruling in three capacities-as Luna or Cynthia in heaven, Diana on earth, and Hecate in hell; V. i. 38 r .

Triumph, public show; I. i. 19.
Troth, truth; II. ii. 36.
Tuneable, tuneful; I. i. 184.
Unbreathed, unexercised; V. i. 74.

Unharden'd, impressionable; I. i. 35 .

Upon, by ; II. i. 244.
Vantage; 'with vantage,' having the advantage; I. i. roz.

Vaward $=$ vanguard; IV. i. ilo.
Villagery, a collective word, meaning either (I) village population, or (2) villages; II. i. 35 .

Virtue; 'fair virtue's force.' i.e. the power of thy fairness; III. i. 144.

Voice, approval ; I. i. 54.
Votaress, a vestal vowed to virginity; II. i. 163.

Wandering knight $=$ knight errant; I. ii. 44.
Want, lack; II. i. Ior.
Wanton, luxuriant, thick; II. i. 99.

Wasted, consumed ; V. i. 372.
Ways; 'all ways,' in all directions; IV. i. 40.
Weed, robe; II. i. 256.
Where (dissyllabic) ; II. i. 249.
Where $=$ wherever; IV. i. I57.
Whether (monosyllabic) ; I. i. 69.

Withering out, delaying the enjoyment $-\mathrm{f} ;$ l. i. 6 .
Without, outside of; I. i. 165; beyond the reach of; IV. i. 158.

Wode, mad (with a play upon "wood") ; II. i. 192.
Woodbine, honeysuckle; II. i. 25 I ; probably "convulvulus or bindweed" ; IV. i. 46.
Worm, serpent; III. ii. 7r.
Wrath, wrathful; II. i. zo.
You (ethic dative) ; I. ii. 81, 82.

## Critical Notes.

## BY ISRAEL GOLLANCZ.

I. i. ıо. 'new-bent'; Rowe's correction of 'now bent,' the reading of the Quartos and Folios.
I. i. II. 'Philostrate' is the name assumed by Arcite in Chaucer's Knight's Tale; it occurs too in Plutarch's Lives, where are to be found also the names Lysander and Demetrius.
I. i. 27. The second Folio reads, 'this hath bewitched'; the earlier edition, 'this man'; perhaps we should read 'this man hath 'witched.'
I. i. 44. 'our law'; Solon's laws gave a father the power of life and death over his child.
I. i. 159, 160 . These lines should perhaps be transposed.
I. i. 167. 'to do observance to a morn of May,' cp. Knight's Tale, 1500: 'And for to doon his observance to May.'
I. i. 219. 'stranger companies'; Theobald's emendation of 'strange companions,' which is the reading of the Quartos and Folios.
I. ii. II. 'The most lamentable comedy,' etc. Cp. the title of Preston's Cambyses, ' a lamentable tragedy mixed full of pleasant mirth,' etc.
I. ii. 5I. 'Thisne, Thisne,' so the Quartos and Folios; perhaps this spelling was intentional to represent Bottom's attempt to speak the name 'in a monstrous little voice.' The words may, however, be an error for 'thisne, thisne,' i.e. 'in this manner, in this manner,' ' thissen' being used in this sense in various dialects.
II. i. 54, 55. The Quartos and Folios read 'coffe . . . loff e,' for the sake of the rhyme.
II. i. 58. 'room'; probably pronounced as a dissyllable.
II. i. 78. 'Perigenia,' called 'Perigouna' in North's Plutarch; she was the daughter of the famous robber Sinnis, by whom Theseus had a son, Menaloppus.
II. i. 79. ' Egle'; Rowe's correction for 'Eagles' of the Quartos and Folios; probably 'Eagles' was for 'Egles,' a form due to North's Plutarch, where it is stated that some think Theseus
left Ariadne "because he was in love with another, as by these verses should appear,

> 'Agles the nymph was lov'd of Theseus, Who was the daughter of Panopeus.'"
II. i. So Antiopa, said to be the name of the Amazon queen, and the mother of Hippolytus.
II. i. 23I. 'Daphne holds the chase'; the story tells how Apollo pursued Daphne, who was


From an early MS. of Maundevile's Travels. changed into a laurel-tree as he reached her.
II. i. 232.' the dove pursues the griffin'; the accompanying illustration of a griffin is from an early MS. of Maundevile's Travels.
III. i. $36-47$. This was probably suggested by an actual incident which occurred during the Kenilworth festivities, when one Harry Goldingliam, who was to represent Arion upon the Dolphin's back, tore off his disguise, and swore he was none of Arion ( $c p$. Scott's use of this story in Kenilworth).
III. i. 54. ' $A$ calendar, a calendar find out moonshine? (Cp. illustration.)
III. i. гوо. 'Squash,' i.e. an unripe peascod.
III. ii. 36. ' latch'd'; the word 'latch' in this passage, as Prof. Skeat has pointed out, is not connected with


From the Almánacke of Walter Gray for 159r. the ordinary 'latch,' 'to catch,' but is etymologically the casual form of 'leak,' and means 'to cause to drop, to drip.'
III. ii. I19. ' sport alone,' i.e. 'by itself, without anything else'; others render 'alone' by 'above all things, without a parallel.'
III. ii. I88. 'oes'; o was used for anything round, among other things for circular discs of metal used for ornaments; $c p$. Bacon,

Essay xxxvii.: "And Oes, and Spangs, as they are of no great cost, so they are of most glory."
III. ii. 204. ' needles,' a monosyllable; 'needle' was often spelt ' neeld ' in Old English.
III. ii. 212-214. "Helena says, ' we had two seeming bodies but one heart.' She then exemplifies her position by a simile-' we had two of the first, i.e. bodies, like the double coats in heraldry that belong to man and wife as one person, but which, like our single heart, have but one crest.' "
III. ii. 257. 'No, no; he'll stay. The Cambridge Edition, 'No, no; he 'll . . . seem'; the first Quarto, 'heele seem'; the second, 'hee'l seem'; the first Folio, 'No, no, Sir, seem.' The passage is clearly corrupt in the old editions. Mr. Orson ingeniously suggests:-

$$
\begin{aligned}
& \text { "No, no, sir; still } \\
& \text { Seeme to breake loose," }
\end{aligned}
$$

'heele' being an easy misreading of 'stille.' The present editor has added 'stay' as a mere conjecture.
III. ii. 379. 'Night's swift dragons cut the clouds full fast.' (Cp. the accompanying illustration.)


From Pynson's edition of the Shepherd's Kalendar.
IV. i. 3I. 'a reasonable good ear in music'; weavers were supposed to be fond of music, more especially of psalm-singing ; $c p$. I Henry IV., II. iv. I46,'I would I were a weaver, I could sing psalms.'
IV. i. 46. 'So doth the woodbine the sweet honeysuckle'; commonly 'woodbine' is identical with 'honeysuckle,' but it is also used by Elizabethans for 'convolvulus' and 'ivy.' Shakespeare,

## Notes

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however, uses the word in two other passages (II. i. 25 I , and Much Ado, III. i. 30) in the sense of 'honeysuckle'; hence Warburton suggested:-
'So doth the woodbine, the sweet honeysuckle, Gently entwist the maple, ivy so,' etc.
Johnson thought that 'woodbine' was the plant, and 'honeysucklc' the flower. These suggestions are not satisfactory: the simplest way out of the difficulty is to take 'woodbine' as equivalent to 'convolvulus' or 'bindweed'; $c p$. Ben Jonson's Vision of Delight:-

## 'behold! <br> How the blue blindweed doth itsclf infold With honeysuckle.'

IV. i. 78. 'Dian's bud'; it has been thought that perhaps ' Dian's bud' = 'Diana's rose,' 'the rose of England's Virgin Queen'; 'Diana's Rose' is actually used in this complimentary sense in Greene's Friar Bacon.
IV. i. 87. 'Than common sleep,' etc.; the Quartos and first two Folios read 'sleepe: of all these, fine the sense'; the correction is Theobald's.
IV. i. 95. 'prosperity'; so the first Quarto; the second and Folios, ' postcrity.'
IV. i. I2I. 'fountains'; perhaps an error for ' mountains.'
V. i. 47. 'my kinsman Hercules'; cp. North's Plutarch, Lifc of Theseus: "they (Theseus and Hercules) were near kinsmen, being cousins removed by the mother's side."
V. i. 54. 'critical', i.e. 'censorious,' as in the well-known utterance of Iago, ' I am nothing, if not critical' (Othello, II. i. I20).
V. i. 59. 'wondrous strange snow'; 'strange' is hardly the epithet one would expect, and various emendations have been sug-gested:-'strange black,' 'strong snow,' 'swarthy snow,' ' sablesnow,' 'and, z'ondrous strance! yct snow.' Perhaps the most plausible conjecture is Mr. S. W. Orson's 'zvondrous flaming snow"; cp. "What strange fits be these, Philautus, that burn thee with such a heat, that thou shakest for cold, and all thy body in a shivering sweat, in a flaming ice, melteth like wax and hardeneth like the adamant" (Lyly's Euphues, ed. Arber, p. 3II).
V. i. 91. 'And zuhat poor duty,' etc.; Coleridge proposed:-
'And what poor duty cannot do, yct would, Noble respect takes it,' etc.
The metre is defective as the lines stand. Theobald read 'poor
willing duty . . . Noble respect.' The meaning is sufficiently clear, and recalls Love's Labour's Lost, V. ii. 516, 'That sport best pleases that doth least know how,' etc. Takes it in might $=$ 'regards the ability or effort of the performance.'
V. i. Io6. ' the Prologue is addrcss'd; i.e. the speaker of the p. is ready.


From a woodcut in the Antigone of G. P. Trapolini (Padua, 158r).
V. i. ir8. 'stand upon points'; Quince's punctuation reminds one of the reading of Roister Doister's letter to Mistress Constance in the old comedy ( $c p$. Roister Doister, iii. 3).
V. i. 139. 'name'; as there is no rhyme to name, the loss of a line is to be inferred, or perhaps we should read 'which by name Lion hight.'
V. i. I63. 'And this the cranny is.' ( $C p$. the following illustration.)
V. i. 207. 'mural down'; the Quartos read 'Moon used'; the Folios, 'morall downe'; the emendation 'mural' was due to Pope.
V. i. 224. 'n'ann lion fell'; the Quartos and Folios read 'an lion fell,' i.e. a fierce lion; but Snug wishes to say 'he is not a lion,' wherefore the words have been hyphened by


From a Dutch drama on the subject of Pyramus and Thisbe (Amsterdam, 1640.) most modern editors, including the Cambridge Edition, ' 1ion-fell,'
i.e. 'a lion's skin.' Johnson understood 'neither' before 'a lion fcll '; Rowe read ' No lion fell.' I am strongly inclined to believe that Shakespeare wrote ' $n$ 'am,' an archaic form, like nill (i.e. ne will). In Gascoigne's Steele Glas the following couplet occurs, remarkably suggestive of our text:-

> "I n'am a man, as some do think I am; (Laugh not good lord), I am indede a dame."

Considering Gascoigne's intimate connection with the Kenilworth Festivities, a strong case could be made out for the theory that Snug's couplet is a direct parody of the lines in the Stecle Glas.


From a seal affixed to a deed dated 1335 .

$$
\text { V. i. 256-8. 'I, the man } i \text { ' the moon; }
$$ this thornbush my thornbush; and this dog my dog.' (Cp. illustration.)

V. i. 269, 270. Spedding proposed to invert these lines.
V. i. 273. 'gleams'; the Quartos and Folio I read 'beams'; Folio 2, 'streams.'
V. i. 319, 320. 'he for a man-God bless us,' omitted in the Folios, probably in consequence of the statute of James I. forbidding profane speaking, or use of 'the holy name of God.'
V. i. 322. 'means,' changed by Theobald to 'moans.' ... 'Mean' in the sense of 'to lament,' an archaic form, is really more correct than 'moan,' and probably intentionally used by Shakespeare to harmonize with the archaisms of the interlude.
V. i. 370. 'behowls'; Theobald's emendation of 'beholds,' the reading of the Quartos and Folios.


From a woodcut in the Mad Prankes (of Robin Good-fellow), 1628.

## NIGHT'S DREAM

Notes
V. i. 387. 'I am sent with broom before.' (p. illustration.)
V. i. 393. 'this ditty'; Johnson supposes that two songs are lost, one led by Titania, and one by Oberon.
V. i. 417, 418 . These lines should obviously be transposed in order to make sense of the passage.

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## Explanatory Notes.

The Explanatory Notes in this edition have been specially selected and adapted, with emendations after the latest and best authorities, from the most eminent Shakespearian scholars and commentators, including Johnson, Malone, Steevens, Singer, Dyce, Hudson, White, Furness, Dowden, and others. This method, here introduced for the first time, provides the best annotation of Shakespeare ever embraced in a single edition.

## ACT FIRST.

## Scene I.

20. duke:-This has been set down as a misapplication of a modern title. If it be such, Shakespeare is not responsible for it, as Theseus is repeatedly called duk in Chaucer's Knight's Tale, to which the Poet was evidently indebted for some of the material of this play. But indeed this application of duke to the heroes of antiquity was quite common; the word being from the Latin $d u x$, which means a chief or leader of any sort. Thus in I Chronicles, i. 5I, we have a list of "the dukes of Edom." We will subjoin the opening of The Knight's Tale, as illustrating both the matter in hand and the general scope of the Poet's obligations in that quarter:-
"Whilom, as olde stories tellen us, Ther was a duk that highte Theseus. Of Athenes he was lord and governour, And in his time swiche a conquerour, That greter was ther non under the sonne. Ful many a riche contree had he wonne. What with his wisdom and his chevalrie, He conquerd all the regne of Feminie, That whilom was ycleped Scythia; And wedded the fresshe quene Ipolita, And brought hire home with him to his coutree

With mochel glorie and gret solempnitee, And eke hire yonge suster Emelie. And thus with victorie and with melodie Let I this worthy duk to Athenes ride, And all his host in armes him beside."
131. Beteem:-This term for permit or allow is used by Shakespeare only here and in Hamlet, I. ii., in the familiar passage (lines 140-142): "So loving to my mother, that he might not beteem the winds of heaven visit her face too roughly." Spenser has in The Faeric Queene, ii. 8, 19:-
"So would I (said th' enchaunter) glad and faine Beteeme to you this sword, you to defend."

141-I49. Or, if there zuere a sympathy, etc.:-Milton seems to have remembered this passage in his account of the "innumerable disturbances on earth through female snares," Paradise Lost, Book x.:-

> " For either
> He never shall find out fit mate, but such As some misfortune brings him, or mistake;
> Or whom he wishes most shall seldom gain, Through her perverseness, but shall see her gain'd
> By a far worse; or, if she love, withheld
> By parents; or his happiest choice too late
> Shall meet, olready link'd and wedlock-bound
> To a fell adversary, his hate or shame:
> Which infinite calamity shall cause
> To human life, and household peace confound."

It did not fall within Milton's purpose to consider that poor woman is a sufferer in these disturbances as well as man: he views her as the cause, not as the victim, of these mischiefs; whereas Shakespeare regards both sexes as subject to them by an edict of Destiny.
167. To do observance to a morn of May:-Here we may perceive that Shakespeare has been with Chaucer:-
> "Thus passeth yere by yere, and day by day,
> Till it felle ones in a morwe of May,
> That Emelie, that fayrer was to sene
> Than is the lilie upon his stalke grene,

> And fressher than the May with floures newe, (For with the rose colour strof hire hewe; I n'ot which was the finer of hem two,
> Er it was day, as she was wont to do, She was arisen, and all redy dight.
> For May wol have no slogardie a-night.
> The seson priketh every gentil herte, And maketh him out of his slepe to sterte, And sayth, arise and do thin observance."

Touching the rites of this ancient holiday-a time that inspired Chaucer to sing,
"O Maye, with all thy floures and thy grene, Right welcome be thou, faire freshe May, I hope that I some grene here getten may "-
Stowe informs us how our ancestors were wont to go out into "the sweet meadows and green woods, there to rejoice their spirits with the beauty and savour of sweet flowers, and with the harmony of birds praising God in their kind." But Stubbs, the atrabilious Puritan, in his Anatomie of Abuses, speaks very differently; he accounts for the delight others take in the season thus: "And no marvel, for there is a great lord present among them, as superintendent over their pastimes and sports, namely, Sathan, Prince of Hell."
246-251. I will go tell him of fair Hermia's fight, etc.:-"I am convinced," says Coleridge, "that Shakespeare availed himself of the title of this play in his own mind, and worked upon it as a dream throughout, but especially, and, perhaps, unpleasingly, in this broad determination of ungrateful treachery in Helena, so undisguisedly avowed to herself, and this, too, after the witty cool philosophizing that precedes. The act itself is natural, and the resolve so to act is, I fear, likewise too true a picture of the lax hold which principles have on a woman's heart, when opposed to, or even separated from, passion and inclination. For women are less hypocrites to their own minds than men are, because in general they feel less proportionate abhorrence of moral evil in and for itself, and more of its outward consequences, as detection, and loss of character than men-their natures being almost wholly extroitive. Still, however just in itself, the representation of this is not poetical; we shrink from it, and cannot harmonize it with the ideal."

## Scene II.

48, 49. you shall play, etc.:--See The Merry Wives of Windsor, I. i. 48, 49, where Slender says of Anne Page, "She has brown hair, and speaks small like a woman." This speech of Peter Quince's shows, what is known from other sources, that the parts of women were used to be played by boys, or, if these could not be had, by men in masks. Prynne, the Puritan hero, informs us that female actors appeared on the stage at the Blackfriars as early as 1629 , and he comes down upon women's acting with a tempest of wrath, while he is still harder upon the personating of women by boys and men.

92-95. your straw colour beard, etc.:-It seems to have been a custom to stain or dye the beard. So Ben Jonson in The Alchemist: "He has dyed his beard and all."
96, 97. This is an allusion to the baldness attendant upon a particular stage of what was then termed the French disease.
105. properties:-A curious list of these is given in Brome's comedy, The Antipodes, 1640 :-
"He has got into our tiring-house amongst us, And ta'en a strict survey of all our properties; Our statues and our images of gods, Our planets and our constellations, Our giants, monsters, furies, beasts, and bugbears, Our helmets, shields and vizors, hairs and beards, Our pasteboard marchpanes, and our wooden pies."

## ACT SECOND.

## Scene I.

2 et seq. Collier informs us that "Coleridge, in his lectures in 1818, was very emphatic in his praise of the beauty of these lines; 'the measure,' he said, 'had been invented and employed by Shakespeare for the sake of its appropriateness to the rapid and airy motion of the Fairy by whom the passage is delivered.'" And in his Literary Remains, after analyzing the measure, he speaks of the "delightful effect on the ear," caused by "the sweet transition" from the amphimacers of the first four lines to the trochaic of the next two. The orbs here referred to were the
verdant circles which the old superstition thus delineated called fairy rings, supposing them to be made by the night-tripping fairies dancing their merry roundels. As the ground became parched under the feet of the moonlight dancers, Puck's office was to refresh it with sprinklings of dew, thus making it greener than ever. Science has of course brushed away the charm that once hung about these rings, which, it tells us, are merely circular growths of fungi. The allusion in the term pensioners is to Elizabeth's band of Gentleman Pensioners, who were chosen from among the handsomest and tallest young men of family and fortune; they were dressed in habits richly garnished with gold lace.

I5. hang a pearl, etc.: -In the old comedy of The Wisdome of Doctor Dodypoll, before 1600, an enchanter says:-
> "'Twas I that led you through the painted meads, Where the light fairies danc'd upon the flowers, Hanging on every leaf an orient pearl."
16. lob of spirits:-It would seem that Puck, though he could "put a girdle round about the earth in forty minutes," was heavy and sluggish in comparison with the other fairies: he was the lubber of the spirit tribe. Shakespeare's " lob of spirits" is the same as Milton's " lubbar fiend," thus spoken of in L'Allegro :-

> "And he, by friar's lantern led, Tells how the drudging goblin swet, To earn his cream-bowl duly set, When in one night, ere glimpse of morn, His shadowy flail hath thresh'd the corn, That ten day-labourers could not end: Then lies him down the lubbar fiend, And, stretch'd out all the chimney's length, Basks at the fire his hairy strength, And crop-full out of doors he flings, Ere the first cock his matin rings."
23. changeling:-It was a roguish custom of the fairies, if a child of great promise were born, to steal it away, and leave an ugly, or foolish, or ill-conditioned one in its stead. So in The Faerie Queene, i. го. 65 :-
"From thence a Faery thee unweeting reft, There, as thou sleptst in tender swadling band, And her base Elfin brood there for thee left:
Such, men do chaungelings call, so chaung'd by Faeries theft."

Sir Thomas Browne, in his Religio Medici, speaking of the devil's practices, says: "Of all the delusions wherewith he deceives mortality, there is not any that puzzleth me more than the legerdemain of changelings." How much comfort this old belief sometimes gave to parents, may be seen from Drayton's Nymphidia :-

> "And when a child haps to be got, Which after proves an idiot, When folk perceive it thriveth not, The fault therein to smother, Some silly, doating, brainless calf, That understands things by the half, Says that the fairy left this aulf, And took away the other."

32-42. Either I mistake, etc.:-That this whole account of Puck was gathered from the popular notions of the time might be shown from many passages. Thus in Harsnet's Declaration of Popish Imposturcs: "And if that the bowl of curds and cream were not duly set out for Robin Goodfellow, the friar, and Sisse the dairy-maid, why, then either the pottage was burnt next day in the pot, or the cheeses would not curdle, or the butter would not come, or the ale in the fat never would have good head." Likewise, in Scot's Discovery of Witchcraft: "Your grandames' maids were wont to set a bowl of milk for him, for his pains in grinding malt and mustard, and sweeping the house at midnight; -this white bread and milk was his standing fee." See also the preceding quotation from Milton, the ballad entitled The Merry Pranks of Robin Goodfellow, in Percy's Reliques, and Drayton's Nymphidia, from the last of which we subjoin one stanza:-
" This Puck seems but a dreaming dolt, Still walking like a ragged colt, And oft out of a bush doth bolt, Of purpose to deceive us; And, leading us, makes us to stray Long winter nights out of the way, And when we stick in mire and clay, He doth with laughter leave us."
54. And 'tailor' cries:-Dr. Johnson thought he remembered to have heard this ludicrous exclamation upon a person's seat
slipping from under him. He that slips from his chair falls as a tailor squats upon his board.
56. waxen in their mirth:-Waxen is an old plural form of the verb to wax; the meaning of course being, increase in their mirth.
60. proud Titania:-"Shakespeare's elf queen," says Herford, "seems to be more original than either [Oberon or Puck]. Tradition had less definitely fixed her character. Spenser had quite recently ( 5590 ) been able to apply the name to a being as little related to the legendary mistress of Thomas of Ercildoun as to Chaucer's Proserpina. Shakespeare himself gave her a Puck character as Mab in Romeo and Juliet. Classical scholars widely connected her with Diana. Titania is distinct from all these, but she seems to have affinities both with Diana and Proserpina. Like the queen of Hades, Shakespeare's fairies are of the night; they 'run from the presence of the sun, following darkness like a dream.' It was an easy step thence to bring them into a special relation to the moon, and thus they are made to pursue the chariot of the 'triple Hecate, to sing hymns and carols to her, or neglect to sing them. The Poet of the Midsummer-Night's Dream was evidently attracted by the classical legends of the Moon, and Lyly's mythic drama on the Endymion story had probably contributed to the attraction. This aspect of his fairydom seems to have had its share in suggesting the name Titania, which he found in Ovid's Mctamorphoses (iii. 173) as a synonym for Diana. Titania herself is, however, a very different being from the chaste maidendeity. She is no goddess, but a fairy, childlike in her innocence and her impulsiveness and, above all, helplessly subdued by the shafts of that casual and irrational love which the 'odd beams of the watery moon' had instantly quenched. But if she is not 'cold.' she is the embodiment of feminine daintiness and delicacy; and all about her is imagined with an exquisite instinct for the elemental life of flower and insect and all the dainty and delicate things of nature."
105. rheumatic diseases:-Rheumatic is here accented on the first syllable, as also in Venus and Adonis, I35: "O'erworn, despised, rheumatic and cold." The word, as Halliwell says, is not here used in its modern acceptation. Colds, coughs, etc., were included under this class of complaints.
124. the spiced Indian air:-Bartholomaus de Glanvilla, 1582, is cited as follows: "As the rivers there are very many, so are they very great, through whose watery overflowing it commeth
to passe that in the moyst grounde, the force of the sunne approaching, ingendreth or bringeth forth all things in great quantitie, and seemeth almost to fill the whole world with spice and precious stones, of which it aboundeth more than all other countries of the world."

168 et seq. love-in-idlcness, etc.:-The love-juice with which the eyes of the lovers and 'fitania were anointed, was, according to Herford, "first brought into connection with fairy-lore by Shakespeare. It was perhaps suggested by a passage in the Diana of Montemayor (tr. 1579), a book which the Tao Gentlemen shows him to have known. Upon this juice and its effects the whole plot turns. The attempts of Warburton and Halfin to read complex personal allusions into the pretty myth of the little western flower beyond the obvious compliment to Elizabeth, are therefore open to grave doubt. With the same delight in blending classical and romantic myths which marks his handling of the fairy world, Shakespeare sought a link between the classical and the romance symbols for the caprice and incalculableness of love-between the arrow of Cupid and the love-juice. Such a link he found in the country name for the pansy- love-in-idleness.' It receives the arrow and yields the juice. Cupid himself, the boy, is replaced by the king of the childlike fairies, and in Oberon's hands the juice provokes sudden accesses of unreasoning love. From these wayward caprices of passion, Theseus and Hippolyta, once sufficiently subject to them, now stand severely apart."
195. You draw me, . . . adamant:-In Certaine Sccrete Wonders of Nature, by Edward Fenton, 1569, is the following: "There is now a dayes a kind of adamant which draweth unto it fleshe, and the same so strongly, that it hath power to knit and tie together two mouthes of contrary persons, and drawe the heart of a man out of his bodie without offending any part of him."

## Scene II.

45. $O$, take the sense, etc.:-That is, understand the meaning of my innocence, or my innocent meaning.
46. Reason becomes, etc.:-Though this play be but a dream, Lysander shows a good deal of human nature, as it is when awake, or claiming to be so, in thus attributing to riper reason a change wrought in his vision by enchantment. The bewitching juice only develops a "higher law" in him. And in like sort it
often happens that men, mistaking change for progress, grow the more opinionated for their frequent changes of opinion, thus turning the natural arguments of modesty into a basis of conceit.

## ACT THIRD.

## Scene I.

ro2. cues and all:-The cues were the last words of the preceding speech, which served as a hint to him who was to speak next.
ro8 et seq. I'll follow you, etc.:-The Protean versatility of Puck is celebrated in whatsoever has come down to us respecting him. Thus in an old tract entitled Robin Goodfellow, his Mad Pranks and Merry Jests:-

> " Thou hast the power to change thy shape To horse, to hog, to dog, to ape."

And in a ballad given in the Introduction to the same tract:-

> "Sometimes a walking fire he'd be, And lead them from their way."

128, 129. The ousel cock, etc.:-In the opinion of some commentators, the Poet or Bottom is a little out here in his ornithology. This opinion has probably arisen from a change in the use of the name since Shakespeare's day; ousel being then used to denote the blackbird, as is evident from the Thirteenth Song of Drayton's Polyolbion:-
> "The woosel near at hand, that hath a golden bill, As nature him had mark'd of purpose t' let us see That from all other birds his tunes should different be; For with their vocal sounds they sing to pleasant May; Upon his dulcet pipe the merle doth only play."

And in a note upon this passage he adds: "Of all birds the blackbird only whistleth"; thus showing that the ousel, the merle, and the blackbird were all one. Bottom's urange-tazeny bill accords with what Yarrell says of the blackbird: "The beak and the edges of the eyelids in the adult male are gamboge yel-
lowe." The whistling of the blackbird is thus spoken of in Spenser's Epithalamion:-
" The merry Larke hir mattins sings aloft;
The Thrush replyes; the Mavis descant playes;
The Ouzell shrills; the Ruddock warbles soft."
174. glow-worm's cyes:-"I know not," says Johnson, "how Shakespeare, who commonly derived his knowledge of nature from his own observation, happened to place the glow-worm's light in his eyes, which is only in his tail." It is, however, remarked by Mason and Halliwell that the Poet may have intended to designate the lights of the insect as cyes without any reference to their situation.
186. desire you of more acquaintance:-This kind of phraseology was not uncommon. So in The Merchant of Venice, IV. i. 402: "I humbly do desire your Grace of pardon." In Lusty Juventus, a Morality, we have: "I shall desire you of better acquaintance." And in An Humorous Day's Mirth, 1599: "I do desire you of more acquaintance."

## Scene II.

97. that costs the fresh blood dear:-An allusion to the ancient notion that every sigh cost or consumed a drop of blood. Repeatedly found in Shakespeare, in various forms; as "bloodconsuming sighs," " blood-drinking sighs," "blood-sucking sighs."
98. join in souls:-That is, join heartily, unite in the same mind.

198-208. Is all the coursel, etc.:-Gibbon, in his account of the holy friendship between the great Cappadocian saints, Basil and Gregory Nazianzen, Decline and Fall, Chap. xxvii., note 29, refers to this passage, and quotes a parallel passage from Gregory's Poem on his own Life. The historian adds: "Shakespeare had never read the poems of Gregory Nazianzen, he was ignorant of the Greek language; but his mother-tongue, the language of Nature, is the same in Cappadocia and in Britain." The following translation of St. Gregory's lines is given in Newman's Church of the Fathers :-
> " May I not boast how in our day we moved A truest pair, not without name in Greece; Had all things common, and one only soul

In lodgment of a double outward frame?
Our special bend, the thought of God ahore.
And the high longing atter holy things.
And each of us was bold to trust in cach,
Unte the cmptying of our deepest hearts:
And then we loved the more, for sympathy
Fleaded in cath, and knit the twain 112 one."
300. nights sevift dragons:-The chariot of Night was fabled as drawn by a temm of dragons, that is, serpents. who were thought to be always awake, beanse they slept with their eves open, and therefore were selected for this purpose. So in Cymbeline: II, ii. \&S: "Switt, swift, you drasons of the night." And in Milton's $1 /$ Penseroso:-

> "Smoothing the rugged brow of night. While Cyuthia checks her dragon yoke."

BER. 3S.3. damach spirits all, etc.:-The ghests of self-murderers, who were huried in crossroads: and of those whe being drowned were condemmed (aceording to the opminen of the ancients) to wander for a hundred years, as the rites of sepulture had newer been regularly bestowed on their bodies. See the fine passage in Homlet, I. i. rfo ef secq. "I have heard, the cock, that is the trumpet to the morn," ete.

## ACT FIFTH.

## Scene I.

+ secthing brans:-So in The Tempest. V. i. so. 60: "Thy brains, now useless, boild within thy skull." And in The Wen:tor's Take. III. iii. 64. 65: "Would any but these boiled knaiks of nincten and two-and-twenty hunt this weather?

InS-tiz. If ate offind, cte.:-Had "this fellow" stood "upon points," his carcfully mispointed speech would have read nearly as follows:-

> "If we offend, it is with our good will
> That vou should think we come not to offend;
> But with good will to show our simple skill:
> That is the true beginning. Of our end

Consider then: we come; but in despite
We do not come: as minding to content you, Our true intent is all for your delight.
We are not here, that you should here repent you.
The actors are at hand; and, by their show,
You shall know all that you are like to know."
166, 167. It is the wittiest partition, etc.:-Farmer would read "heard in discourse," making the equivoke on partition an allusion " to the many stupid partitions in the argumentative writings of the time"; and other commentators are disposed to follow Farmer in this explanation.

368 et seq. Upon this passage Coleridge thus remarks in his Literary Remains: "Very Anacreon in perfectness, proportion, grace, and spontaneity! So far it is Greek;-but then add, O, what wealth, what wild ranging, and yet what compression and condensation, of English fancy! In truth, there is nothing in Anacreon more perfect than these lines, or half so rich and imaginative. They form a speckless diamond."
387. To sweep, etc.:-That is, "to sweep the dust from behind the door." Collicr informs us that on the title-page of the tract, Robin Goodfellow, his Mad Pranks and Merry Jests, Puck is represented in a woodcut with a broom over his shoulder. The whole fairy nation, for which he served as prime minister, were great sticklers for cleanliness.
401. shall blessed be:-This ceremony was in old times used at all marriages. Douce has given the formula from the Manual for the use of Salisbury. In the French romance of Melusine, the Bishop who marries her to Raymondin blesses the nuptial bed. The ceremony is there represented in a very ancient cut. The good prelate is sprinkling the parties with holy water. Sometimes, during the benediction, the married couple only sat on the bed; but they generally received a portion of the consecrated bread and wine.
414. And each several chamber bless:-Of this ancient rite Chaucer gives an example in The Milleres Tale:-
"Therwith the nightspel said he anon rightes,
On the foure halves of the hous aboute, And on the threswold of the dore withoute. Lord Jesu Crist, and seint Benedight, Blisse this hous from every wicked wight," etc.
428. Puck, it seems, was a suspicious name, which makes that
this merry, mischievous gentleman does well to assert his honesty. As for the name itself, it was no better than fiend or devil. In Piers Ploughman's Vision, one personage is called helle Pouke. And the name thus occurs in Spenser's Epithalamion:-
"Ne let the pouke, nor other evill sprights, Ne let mischievous witches with theyr charmes, Ne let hobgoblins, names whose sence we see not, Fray us with things that be not."

## NIGHT'S DREAM

## Questions on

## A Midsummer=Night's Dream.

I. As to the time of its composition, with what group of comedies does this one belong?
2. What elements does it possess in common with these?
3. Where did Shakespeare derive suggestions for the play?
4. What are the speculations as to the occasion of the writing of this play?

## ACT FIRST.

5. What celebration is approaching at the opening of the play?
6. How has Theseus wooed Hippolyta?
7. State the complaint against his daughter that Egeus brings to the Duke?
8. What penalty is threatened for the refusal of Hermia to obey her father?
9. Is there any particular differentiation in the characters of the two lovers?
ro. Who is Helena, and what is the story of her love-affair?
II. What is the plan for flight of Hermia and Lysander? What does Helena propose in relation to it?
10. Has Sc. ii. been foreshadowed?
11. Mention the people here introduced and the characteristic attributes of each.

I4. How has Shakespeare effected the removal of scene from the city?

I5. Indicate the lines of action laid down in the first Act.

## ACT SECOND.

16. Why were the fairies not introduced in the first Act?
17. How is Puck presented? Give the meaning of the epithet applied to him.
18. Explain his identity in English fairy lore.

## Questions

19. Mention any lines to show how Shakespeare uses ideas of space and time in harmony with the diminutiveness of the fairies.
20. What is the cause of the quarrel between Oberon and Titania?

2I. How does Shakespeare assign a supernatural origin to disturbances of nature?
22. How does he show the benevolent inclinations of the fairies?
23. Are these relationships of the natural and the supernatural to be regarded as indicating something of Shakespeare's philosophical creed, or to be interpreted, in the spirit of the play, as mere interesting fancies?
24. How does Oberon describe the fantasies with which he proposes to fill Titania's mind?
25. Though Puck blunders in his search for the Athenian, how does his mischievous nature exhibit itself in putting forth the charm on Lysander?
26. What is the dramatic function of the juice from the flower called love-in-idleness?
27. What complication is introduced at the end of the second Act?

## ACT THIRD.

28. Describe the rehearsal of the play held by the mechanicals.
29. Do you see here anything satirical of the manner of stage representation in Shakespeare's time?
30. How does the dramatist enforce the value of imagination?

3I. How has the transformation of Bottom been prepared for from the beginning of the play? Why is he the only one transformed?
32. What effect has this upon his companions? How does it affect himself?
33. How does Titania address Bottom when sle awakens? What is the comic effect of her deception?
34. Compare, for comic effect, the directions Titania gives the attendants of Bottom with what Bottom himself says of the services he will ask of them.
35. How does Puck report Titania's awaking and infatuation?
36. Describe how the rival lovers desert Hermia and turn to Helena.
37. What view of the case does Helena take?
38. Explain the knot of complications as it is fully tied after the two lovers and the two ladies are introduced on the stage.
39. Show the difference between the origin of the misunderstandings in the men and in the women.
40. Compare this Scene with any scene of misunderstandings and cross-purposes in The Comedy of Errors, and tell wherein they differ.
41. How does Oberon direct Puck to manage the lovers so as to avert the quarrel?
42. Is the plot now brought to a climax? What will be the work of resolution?

## ACT FOURTH.

43. Indicate what it is that makes the opening of the fourth Act, showing Bottom with the fairies, supremely comic.
44. What is Oberon's feeling at seeing Titania's infatuation, and how does he bring her infatuation to an end?
45. How is the resolution of the drama completely foretold? At what time do Theseus and Hippolyta enter the forest, and what is their errand there?
46. Is the spirit of this episode more English than Greek? Explain how.
47. What is the rite of May?
48. How does Demetrius effect the resolution of that part of the action concerning the lovers?
49. How does Theseus confirm and complete this resolution?
50. Describe Bottom's reflections on awaking.
51. Was Bottom overtaken with syncope? Show how Shakespeare has used some of the symptoms of this pathological case.
52. How does Sc. ii. advance the plot?
53. Is it a clever stroke of the asinine Bottom to assume that their play is preferred; or is there here an error of construction, since we hear in the fifth Act the discussion of Theseus and Philostrate over the program of plays and find them making a choice?

## ACT FIFTH.

54. Explain the temper of the dialogue of Theseus and Hippolyta at the opening of the Act. What does it teach of their characters?

## Questions

55. What, for instance, would Theseus have thought of Hamlet?
56. To what plays or poems do you find reference in the list of masques that Philostrate presents for Theseus's approval?
57. For what reason does Theseus select the play of the mechanicals? How does he justify this choice to Hippolyta?
58. What is the comic nature of the Prologue as Quince delivers it? How is he like the great clerks referred to by Theseus?
59. Define the kind of amusement that the Duke's company derive from the play of the mechanicals. Is it of the same nature as that felt by a spectator of Shakespeare's play?
60. What does Shakespeare say about plays in general and the spirit in which they should be viewed?

6I. Contrast Hippolyta's intolerance of the play with the spirit shown by Theseus. Why does she ring the changes on Moon?
62. Describe the epilogue spoken by the fairies.
63. Comment on three points of portrayal in this play-character, passion, dramatic movement.
64. What are the poetical qualities of the play?
65. Consider some details that make up the diversified world of the fairies, and comment on the burden laid upon the imagination in a stage representation.
66. What has Shakespeare himself supplied relative to a solution of this problem?
67. Compare and contrast Puck with Ariel. Which is the more lovable? Which the more interesting?
68. Summarize the traits that are possessed by Bottom. How is he a composite of parts of Dogberry and Malvolio?
69. Explain the mixture of national elements in this play. State some examples of anachronism. What national traits dominate the play?
70. Show the influence of this play upon the romantic revival at the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth century.

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[^0]:    2 "Let base conccited wits admire vile things, Fair Phobus lead me to the muses springs!"
    ${ }^{1}$ cp. As You Like It, III. v. 81.

[^1]:    " You that have writ of chaste Lucretia Whose death was witness of her spotless life."

[^2]:    1" grandfather," in second draft. " "esquire" in second draft.

[^3]:    "What need my Shakespeare for his honour'd bones, The labour of an age in piled stones,

[^4]:    1 "He ought to have been clogged"; cp. Seneca, Exc. Controv. iv. Procm. 7.
    ${ }^{2}$ Cp. Julius Casar, iii. i. 47, where the First Folio reads: Know, Cæsar doth not wrong, nor without cause Will he be satisfied. (Cæsar is the speaker.)

[^5]:    * M. Guizot.

[^6]:    * Wordsworth: Tintern Abbey.

[^7]:    * Paradise Lost, Book IV

[^8]:    * Byron : Don Juan, I. cxcir.

[^9]:    * Much Ado About Nothing, III. v. $\dagger 2$ King Henry VI., IV. ii.

[^10]:    * Love's Labour's Lost, V. i.

[^11]:    * 2 King Henry IV., II. iv.

[^12]:    *Shelley: Sonnet (1818).

[^13]:    * As You Like Il, II. vil.

[^14]:    * Lucretius, I. xxiv.
    $\dagger$ A Midsummer-Night's Dream, V. i.

[^15]:    * As You Like It, III. $\mathrm{\nabla}$.

[^16]:    * Twelfth Night, II. iii.

[^17]:    * Matthew Arnold: The Youth of Nature.
    $\dagger$ Shelley: Alastor.

[^18]:    * An account of the Rise and Progress of the English Drama to the time of Shakespeare.

[^19]:    * I have seen neither Matthew Paris's Historia Major, etc., nor Budæıs's Historia Universitatis Parisicnsis. Both are cited by Markland and Warton, who are my authorities.
    $\dagger$ Fitz-Stephens's Description of London, ed. Pegge, I773, p. 73.

[^20]:    * The following items of account are taken from one of many memorandums discovered by Mr. Sharp in the archives of Coventry, and published in his Essay on the Coventry Mysteries:-
    Md. payd to the players for corpus christi daye
    Imprimis, to God
    Itm to Cayphas
    Itm to Heroude
    Itm to Pilatt is wyff
    Itm to the Bedull
    Itm to one of the knights
    Itm to the devyll and Judas
    $\mathrm{iij}^{s} \mathrm{iij}^{\mathrm{s}} \mathrm{iiij}^{\mathrm{d}}$
    $\mathrm{ij}^{\beta}$
    $\mathrm{iij}^{\beta}$
    $\mathrm{ij}^{\beta}$
    xviijd

[^21]:    * John Jurdon, Geffrey Gile, Malkin Milkdoke, Stephen Sturdy, Tom Tinker, Peter Potte-. Lucy Liar, Miles Miller, etc.
    $\dagger$ Perhaps the most characteristic speech of his in every respect is the following from The Slaughter of the Innocents:Herodes Rex. I ryde on my rowel ryche in my regne, Rybbys fful rede with rape xal I sende; Popetys et paphawkes I xal putten in peyne, With my spere prevyn, pychen, and to-pende.
    The gowys with gold crownys gete thei nevyr ageyn, To seke tho sottys sondys xal I sende;
    Do howlott howtyn hoberd heyn,
    Whan here barnys blede undyr credyl bende; Sharply I xal hem shende!

[^22]:    * The following passage, it will be seen, shows that the crucifixion was represented even to the minutest of its attendant cir-cumstances:-

    Than xul thei pulle Jhesu out of his clothis, and leyn them togedyr; and then thei xul pullyn hym down and leyn along on the cros, and after that naylyn hym thereon.
    Primus Judaus. Come on now here, we xal asay
    Yf the cros for the be mete;
    Cast hym down here in the devyl way,
    How long xal he standyn on his fete?
    Secundus Judaus. Pul hym down, evyl mote he the
    And gyf me his arm in hast;
    And anon we xal se
    Here good days thei xul be past !

[^23]:    * So called because they are preserved among the Digby MSS. in the Bodleian Library.

[^24]:    * Belial thus incites his followers to the assault:-
    "I here trumpys trebelen all of tene:
    The wery world walkyth to werre . .
    Sprede my penon upon a prene

[^25]:    * As for instance, the following passage in which Folly wins a wager that he will laugh Crafty-conveyance out of his coat:-
    [Here foly maketh semblaunt to take a lowse from crafty conveyance shoulder]

[^26]:    * See the following description of an alleged visit to hell by the Pardoner in The Four P's:-
    "Thys devyll and I walket arme in arme
    So farre, tyll he had brought me thyther,
    Where all the dyvells of hell togyther
    Stode in a ray, in suche apparell
    As for that day there metely fell.
    Theyr hornes well gylt, theyr clowes full clene,
    Theyr taylles wel kempt, and as I wene,
    With sothery butter theyr bodyes anoynted;
    I never sawe devylls so well appoynted.
    The master devyll sat on his jacket,
    And all the soules were playinge at racket.
    None other rackettes they hadde in hande
    Save every soul a good fyre brand;
    Wherewith they played so pretely,
    That Lucyfer laughed merely:

[^27]:    * The following extract from the opening of the third Scene of the fourth Act of this comedy is a fair example of its style:-
    Custance. What mean these lewde felowes thus to trouble me stil?
    Sym Suresby here, perchaunce, shal thereof deme som yll,
    And shall suspect me in some point of naughtinesse, And they come hitherward.
    Sym Suresby.
    What is their businesse? Cust. I have nought to them, nor they to me, in sadnesse. Sure. Let us hearken them; somewhat there is, I feare it. Ralph Roister. I will speake out aloude best, that she may heare it. Merry-greek. Nay, alas! ye may so feare hir out of hir wit. Roister. By the crosse of my sworde, I will hurt hir no whit.

[^28]:    * Lilly was born about 1553 , Peele about the same year, Chapman in 1559, Greene about 1560, Marlowe about 1562, Shakespeare in 1564. The date of Kyd's birth can only be conjectured.

[^29]:    * Lilly's Plays are Endimion, Campaspe, Sapho and Phaon, Gallathea, Mydas, Mother Bombie, The Woman in the Moone, and Love's Metamorphosis. The Maid's Mctamorphosis, which was published anonymously in 1600 , has been attributed to him, as also was $A$ Warning for Fair Women, which was published anonymously in 1599; but neither of them bears traces of his style.

[^30]:    * Shakespeare's debt to Plutarch's Life of Theseus amounts to very little-a few names and allusions; to these attention is called in the notes.

[^31]:    * I cannot bring myself to believe that there is a line of Shakespeare's in this unequal performance; it is specially interesting to note that the authors of the Two Noble Kinsmen must have known that the 'Dream' represented Shakespeare's version of the 'Tale.'
    $\dagger$ N. B. 'Fairy' properly signifies merely 'enchantment.' or the state of being like a fay; fée, with its various cognates in other Romance languages is derived from a low Latin fata, 'a goddess of destiny,' really a plural of fatum, treated as a feminine singular. The application of this term to the 'elves' of Teutonic mythology is in itself instructive.

[^32]:    * Chaucer's Legend of Thisbe of Babylon was certainly read by Shakespeare, though its influence cannot be detected in the play.

[^33]:    Bot. "I cry your Worship's mercy heartily.-I beseech your Worship's name." Cob. "Cobweb.

    Midsummer-Night's Dream. Act 3, Scene 1.

